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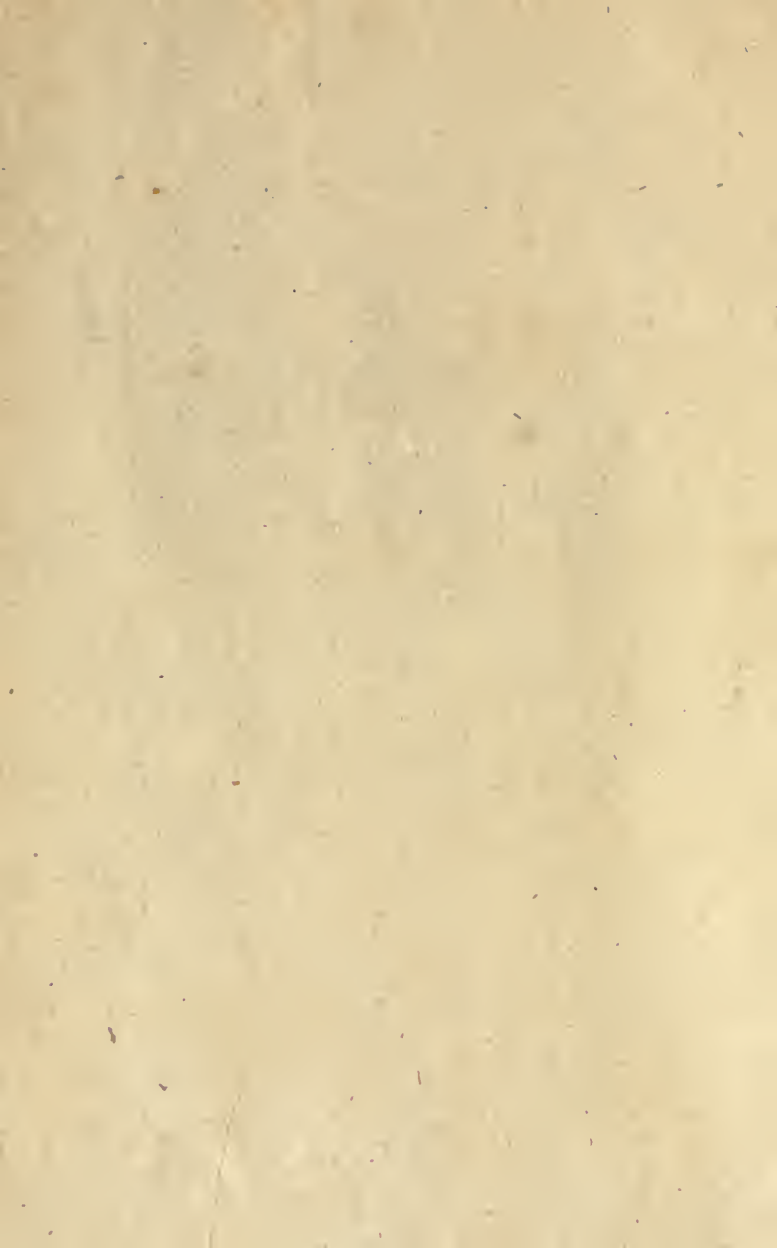
T. R. Parker

Thomas Paine

~~in the Rights~~

of Man

Page 34



THE

CRIMES OF CABINETS.

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THE
CRIMES OF CABINETS;

OR, A

REVIEW
OF THEIR PLANS AND AGRESSIONS

FOR THE ANNIHILATION OF

THE LIBERTIES OF FRANCE

AND THE DISMEMBERMENT OF HER TERRITORIES.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE ANECDOTES

MILITARY AND POLITICAL.



EVIT AMOR FERRI ET SCELERATA INSANIA BELII.

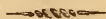
Virg.

BY LEWIS GOLDSMITH.

L O N D O N :

Printed by T. DAVISON, Lombard-Street, Fleet-Street.

And published by J. S. JORDAN, Fleet-Street.



1801.

G 627

LONDON, JAN. 10, 1801.

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P R E F A C E.

IT is the duty of every man that partakes of even the limited comforts and advantages of Society, to contribute with all the means in his power, to improve the lot of his fellow citizens. Prompted by this consideration, I suppress a diffidence which the consciousness of my inability, justly inspires, and present to the world at this calamitous period, a *chronicle* or *catalogue* of the most prominent *aggressions* on the part of *those* continental governments, FALSELY denominated *regular*, unless indeed we refer to their uniformly REGULAR SYSTEM OF BLOOD, RAPINE, and OPPRESSION!! It is in reluctant obedience to truth,

truth, that I must join to this ineligible fellowship, even the *British Cabinet*! By the term *Cabinet*, however, neither in this nor in any one of the following pages, do I mean or assume any other view, meaning, inuendo, or interpretation, THAN THAT OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS! Them, and them alone, do I mean by the term *Cabinet*, as also by that of *Government*, whatever its adjunct, when applied to this country.

This catalogue proceeds with a regular detail of the CRIMES of CABINETS. From the treaty of PAVIA inclusive, to the close of this year, in a chain of FACTS which *cannot* be disproved.

disproved. And having been extensively conversant on the Continent during the present war, I have it in my power to introduce some interesting anecdotes, strongly corroborative to the other statements of this publication, and pledge myself to the reader that they are *genuine*; and shall stand before him in all their NATIVE HORROR and deformity. Prompted by a conscious rectitude and indignation, *I will not be sparing of my colours.* PUBLIC DELINQUENCY SHALL HAVE A PUBLIC PORTRAIT!! Critical censure is but a trifling consideration to a man that has that many headed monster, *ministerial vengeance* in his
contem-

contemplation: urged by the most sacred of earthly duties, that of my suffering country, I will brave both. Indeed as to eloquence, I trust the subject will give it; *dolor ipse disertum faciet!* and reckless of the other, I will a TALE UNFOLD that I think will in some measure open the eyes of Britons, and thereby perhaps happily contribute to a *change of men and manners*, which may still save the nation, and may lead it from the precipice on which it madly sports, —sports with the drear prospect of having all her wealth, her constitution, commercial advantages, independence, and political dignity, swallowed in the abyss of folly, false ambition, and madness.

CRIMES
OF
CABINETS.

CHAP. I.

THAT the French revolution of 1789 occasioned no small share of pain to every crowned and mitred head on the continent, is now generally admitted; nor was it less painfully felt in the cabinet of St. James. Consternation and dismay spread among every class of the privileged orders, spiritual as well as temporal. The prince and priest saw that knowledge began to reveal itself, and to dispel that mental slavery which, for so many ages, had enveloped mankind. Those *sacred*

B *personages*

personages saw that the plentitude of their power was in its wane; at the same time, the example and doctrines of the French revolution, caused among the long injured nations on the continent *, sensations equal to those of a blind person just restored to sight. To those whose religious tenets and habits differed from the established church, it held out a prospect of being placed on a footing with other citizens; for though their taxes and contributions were the same as other subjects paid, still they were deprived even of the same circumscribed privileges.

The private intrigues of the coalesced cabinets to suppress such opinions, come not alto-

* In Poland, Russia, Courland, and part of Prussia, the peasantry are in a state of slavery, or what is called in German, *leib eigen*. Thus, if an estate is sold, all the human beings on it, are sold with the soil, in the same manner as the negroes. In those countries, there are also markets for the purpose of buying and selling these unfortunate persons, though zealous christians.

gether

gether within the view of the present publication ; I shall therefore notice only their more general efforts, among which I shall prominently class their most glaring and flagitious acts of unprovoked aggression.

Their blind and bloody plans first acquired diplomatic publicity at Pilnitz, where the late king of Prussia, and the late emperor, Leopold, met to complot the most horrid destiny for almost every corner of Europe ! Had the earth then been so hungry for superlative guilt, as when it swallowed *Korah*, Pilnitz would now be no more ; nor would myriads of widows and orphans now have to lament their manifold misery. However, it was otherwise ordained. This heaven-anointed pair met : and the meetings of great and powerful princes, like the unfortunate conjunctions of the heavenly bodies, have generally been considered as ominous to the peace and happiness of the world ; and to this the blood-drenched plains of Franconia, B 2 Flanders,

Flanders, and Italy, can bear ample testimony. This dark and pregnant conference of Pilnitz, immediately produced a preliminary convention, which was afterwards more amply arranged by the treaty of Pavia *, of which we should have continued as ignorant as of the proceedings at Pilnitz, if the gang had continued faithful to each other. A circular of it was sent to all the spiritual and temporal princes of Europe, who all most cordially and immediately agreed to it, excepting Denmark and the British cabinet; the latter, for reasons not unknown, did not accede to it till March 1792; and Holland about the same time, on condition that the arrangement respecting their limits, on the side of his Imperial majesty's territory, should be made, according to the desire of the republic, before the destined partition took place. In justice to the king of Spain, I must say, that when count Florida Blanca was disgraced, which was shortly

* Vide APPENDIX A.

after the treaty of Pavia, he renounced the engagement, giving assurances, however, that he would not lend any assistance to France, not even in conformity to the family compact.

The treaty of Pavia not only evinced the temper of the parties as they regarded the principles of the French revolution, but positively demonstrated such a plan of havock and robbery, that every man who reads it attentively, must shudder: does it not give the direct lye to all proclamations and manifestoes issued by the coalesced parties, that France was the aggressor, by declaring war against Austria (against Prussia, there was never a public declaration of war), and that the war was commenced only to prevent the opening of the Scheldt, and to defend the Dutch? Next it was stated by these honest fathers of their people, that it was to stem the torrent of jacobinism. Good souls! they never had an idea that their true motives would ever be made manifest

by the publication of this precious treaty, a fabrication which would have done credit to a Cortez, a Borgia, or a Cartouche. I ask, was the war undertaken for the purposes mentioned in the various manifestoes issued by those apostles of good order and religion? No; it was undertaken not only to dismember France, but also to blot out Poland from the catalogue of nations. Was Stanislaus a jacobin? Were Thorn, Dantzic, Chochzim, and Bavaria, under jacobin government? Yet plunder was not the only object of these conspiracies; the very name and idea of liberty, were to undergo an eternal extinction. Having thus briefly ascertained their views and combinations, I shall next proceed to their *acts of public hostility and national plunder!!!*

CHAP. II.

IT is a notorious circumstance, that soon after the treaty of Pavia, emigrants of all descriptions, at the head of which was Monsieur, the mock regent of France, assembled in an hostile manner at Coblentz, the residence of the archbishop of Treves, then in profound peace with France. No secret was made that Great Britain furnished money, and that they were also to be assisted by Leopold and Frederic William. In consequence of this intelligence, Louis XVI. issued a proclamation, in which he “ invites all persons who, from different motives, have quitted their country, to return and yield to the public wish, &c. &c.” Was the tenor of this proclamation ever complied with? Did ever an emigrant return in consequence of it? It is well known there did not. Why? Because it was said, Louis was not sincere.—I

grant that he was not; but could not they have served Louis much better by being near his person, than by abandoning him to his fate? The fact is, it was a matter of indifference to the two crowned eagles, who was king in France, or whether Louis was executed or not; they well knew, that keeping the emigrants together in an hostile attitude, would urge the French to declare war first, by means of which the German empire * would be lugged into the confederacy; and beside such a powerful assistance, it would serve *ad captandum vulgus*.

The preparations made by the emigrants, becoming everyday more alarming to France, a message was sent from the national assembly to the king, dated November 29, 1791, in which they point out "the conduct of the French princes, and that they were supported

* According to the constitution of the German empire, they are not obliged to furnish the contingent for the empire, unless the emperor is engaged in a defensive war.

in their treason by the German princes," and recommend to the king to demand from the emperor and the elector of Treves, an explanation of their conduct. The king, in reply, promises to maintain respect for the French nation both abroad and at home.

About a month after, the king, in consequence of the foregoing message, reported to the national assembly "the measures he had adopted to disperse the emigrants collecting in the territories of the German princes; that he had written to the emperor, as well as to the other sovereigns, whose conduct gave great umbrage to him; but he was sorry to say, that he had received *un-accommodating answers*: and he further said he had given notice to all those princes, on whose territories the emigrants were assembled, that if they did not put a stop to all collecting of troops, and other hostile dispositions, that he should consider

sider them as the enemies of France ; and if his declaration was not attended to, that it only remained for him to declare war. However, all these messages, declarations, &c. were of no avail ; the elector of Treves, so far from discouraging the emigrants, afforded them additional protection : and at length, hostile manifestoes on the part of the exiled princes, appear, declaring that they will be powerfully seconded by the emperor, who had already sent Marshal Bender with 6000 men from the Low Countries to protect the electorate. Such proceedings must have partly unfolded the views of the emperor, who, just before the French had declared war, was called before the tribunal of Heaven to answer for the enormous crimes he had planned. It was asserted that he had died by poison, which is erroneous, as his death was occasioned by violent stimulants taken for the grossest purposes of sensuality. Young Francis, the
present

present emperor, whose chief, or only talents consist in BAKING OF SMALL LOAVES *, succeeds his father: such an able baker might with no great difficulty, be prevailed upon to raise a princely blaze, sanctioned by the example of his illustrious predecessor. His temper, *owing perhaps to his operations at the oven*, was even more inflammable than Leopold's. Every answer of his to the French ministers, was fraught with insolence, while he accelerated the period when a combination of sanguinary despots was to deluge Europe with blood, and with their mercenary satellites make more desolation, misery, and ravages, than perhaps the Goths or Vandals ever did: under the specious pretext of protecting regular government and religion, they committed the most flagrant enormities. War was at length declared by the French against the

* It is a well known fact that the present emperor rises very early every morning, for the purpose of baking his own bread.

emperor, Francis the First. What a loss to the world if there never be a Second !!!

But before I proceed to take a view of the conduct of other cabinets then not *directly* engaged in the war against France, I must beg leave to make a few remarks on the Duke of Brunswick's insolent and sanguinary manifesto, when he entered France in 1792. It has always been said that the king of France was never sincere in his acceptance of the constitution, that he solicited the invasion of his country, and even agreed to the infamous treaty of Pavia. This in fact was implied in a manifesto by Prussia and Austria, to all the other princes of Europe; *in that* and *in that alone*, I perfectly agree with their sacred majesties: I am, indeed, well persuaded that the king of France perjured himself ten times over. But what were the people of France to believe? How to act? On one side, the bloody mani-
festo

festo appears professing even to speak the language of the king of France, who at that very time issues proclamations that asserted *directly the reverse: they* in their manifestoes call him a prisoner; *he* in answer to that, declares to all the world, that he is the first citizen of the only free people in the world. *They* enter France with a pretended view of restoring him to his ancient privileges, and calling upon every description of persons to take up arms to assist them in *their just cause*, on pain of having their houses burned, and themselves hanged as traitors. *He* calls upon the people of France to take up arms to defend their country, their property, their liberty, and their king; and to repair to the frontiers, to repel the attacks of those barbarous invaders!—Here then is a curious predicament the people of France are placed in! could they have supposed that their king, whom they always considered as a pious, good man, wished to mislead them, and invite them

them to do that very thing which they would have been hanged for, if the despots had subjugated France? They did not; consequently, *they obeyed* their king, and not the invaders: *his* manifestoes had the desired effect; *theirs*, on the contrary, not only brought shame and disgrace on *themselves*, but served to effect a close union among those of the French who did not exactly agree in inferior concerns, and rallied them all to the standard of freedom; and under that sacred banner did they repair, with an enthusiastic zeal, to their threatened frontiers, where they demonstrated to the world, the superiority of free men over the mercenary automata that opposed them.

CHAP. III.

THE courts of the Baltic, excepting that of Denmark *, were likewise actively employed in supporting the coalition : but fortunately for Sweden, the *bold* and *manly hand* of † Captain Ankarstroem, frustrated the

* The name of M. de Bernstorff, the first minister of Denmark, will be revered by applauding posterity ; and it is a tribute due to talents, wisdom, and virtue, to mention, that to his noble and spirited conduct, in resisting all menaces of the maritime powers of Europe leagued against France, as well as to his dignified contempt and abhorrence of their bribery, are owing the peace and prosperity which Denmark now enjoys.

† Though highly I revere the memory of a *Brutus* or an *Ankarstroem*, I confess I feel commensurate regret, that they had no other means of cutting off a tyrant, than the odious one of assassination : the secret poniard and poisoned bowl, were never invented by the patriotic or the brave. They are, in general, the base resources of a jealous mistress, or hireling bravo. Besides, how rarely does it happen, that the end, are in the case of Ankarstroem, justifies the mean !

frantic

frantic schemes of that undegenerate descendant of the *mad Charles XII.* who had already been appointed Generalissimo of the combined armies. Much has been said about Ankarstroem's motives for that daring act of patriotism. Having been at Stockholm at that time, and intimate with Count Horn, I believe I can state a few leading facts relative to this memorable event. Ankarstroem was of a very noble and ancient family in Sweden. In the early part of his life, he was very intimate with Gustavus, being of the same age. The particular *attachment* of *Gustavus* was well known ; and he once, *very good-naturedly*, wished to confer a proof of it on Ankerstroem, who repelled the monster in a manner becoming a man. A coolness naturally ensued. Ankarstroem, belonging to the garde ducorps, and therefore daily in the presence of the king, thereby became a constant, though silent, accuser to him. In order to remove so painful a monitor, he was appointed Governor of East Gothland,

Gothland, where he remained some time ; but Ankarstroem's lively and active mind would not suffer him to remain in such a vile situation, little better than exile. He therefore applied for permission to resign his governorship, which, after many objections, he obtained. But, on his return to Stockholm, he was unkindly treated by Gustavus. NEGLECTED LOVE IS ALWAYS VINDICTIVE. He was, therefore, persecuted in a most malignant manner. Indeed, murmurs and complaints against Gustavus, were now become universal. The circumstances of his usurpation in 1772, was never digested by the Swedes, and therefore left no favourable impression of the king's character on their minds : some of his biographers call him an enlightened prince, and a lover of liberty, when it was well known, that he only externally courted popularity. He even disclaimed the title of king, and called himself only the first citizen of the republic: he, nevertheless, meditated the downfall of

every thing that bore the appearance of freedom.

This pretender, to the best amiabilities of polished life, visited Rome under the title of count Haga. Scandal assigned a *fundamental* reason for the visit, and even hinted that the cardinals found him an adept in the *holy* mysteries of their college. Be that as it may, the count, ever affecting singularity, testified great attachment to the pope and popery. He attended high mass at St. Peter's; and, upon receiving thanks from cardinal Antonelli, chief of the *propaganda*, for his indulgence to catholics in Sweden, this hypocrite, all things to all men, exclaimed with a puritanical face, "If God grant me life and health, I hope to do much more for them." In the same tone of falsehood and self-accommodation, did he treat others, impressing them with a transient opinion of his understanding, breeding, and taste for the fine arts.

arts. But he soon wore out his mask, and left a very pretty, puny, tea-table repute behind him: but, as to his amours, my author is silent. Vain hyperborean! To think of outdoing the finesse, or baffling the penetration of modern Rome!

It has been said that the reason of Gustavus's first breaking with the French, was owing to the subsidy annually allowed him by France having been stopped since the revolution. All persons acquainted with the political relations of France and Sweden, must know that Sweden is not at all likely to prove serviceable to France; *au contraire*, France might always be of service to Sweden, and defend her against the ambition of Russia, by stirring up the Porte. The fact was simply this, the Divan, too imbecile to acknowledge a subsidiary treaty with Sweden, always employed France as its banker to remit Sweden the money. In the last war between

that power and Russia, the Porte, not satisfied with the conduct of Sweden, stopped the usual subsidies. Gustavus wrote to his brother Louis, requesting him to interfere: Louis, with his hands then tied, could not do the same as formerly; he however consulted M. de Montmorin on the subject, who desired him not to interfere, as it might bring on a rupture with Russia.—This, no doubt, was an additional cause of Gustavus's hatred against the new government of France.

Under all these circumstances, Ankarstroem with a resolution *worthy of himself* and his cause, resolved to avert the danger that threatened his country, and to avenge its wrongs. This spirit indeed was not exclusively felt by Ankarstroem; a certain powerful personage of that country, was also fully convinced of the necessity of getting rid of the mad man, *coute qui coute*, and imparted his ideas to count Horn, he to count Ribbing,

from

from whom it came to Ankarstroem as a man fit to be trusted. These three gentlemen and the * * * * met at count Ribbing's country-seat, about three English miles from Stockholm: after every thing was finally settled as to time, place, and manner the tyrant was to be got rid of, the * * * *, who was likely to become a man of some power at the death of the king, said, *The man who actually strikes the blow, must be sacrificed*, to keep up appearances; the others shall not only be pardoned, but handsomely provided for *, *upon my honour*: they then proposed casting lots who should strike the blow, when Ankarstroem jumped on a chair, and said, ANKARSTROEM IS THE MAN. What followed is well known to all the world; the consequences have been

* Counts Horn and Ribbing were both men of good property, but as it was known their property would be confiscated, this promise was necessary.—Ankarstroem's widow was also very handsomely provided for.

felt by the people of Sweden, and they are the best judges whether it was a salutary act or not.—So much for the court of Stockholm.

The imperial Catharine could not, for the present, do any thing further against France, than sending its minister, M. Genet, out of the country, as also every other Frenchman who would not take the oath of allegiance to the autocratix, and swear eternal enmity to his country: this oath was positively administered to every Frenchman who had a desire to remain in the country; and all French merchandizes were not only strictly prohibited from being landed, though actually on their voyage to Russia, but French merchandizes already in the country were ordered to be shipped off, which caused the ruin of many respectable merchants. The czarina had at this period, a more solid object in view, which was the subversion of the new-modelled Polish government; and, with-

out

out the smallest provocation, invaded that country with an army of 60,000 barbarans, where, after committing the most unheard-of acts of cruelty, she changed the government, and of course her hordes acted in that country as they pleased, the great majority of the Polish nobility having emigrated; nor was the merchant or peasant very well pleased with the change. The empress well knew that it was necessary to keep up a formidable army in that country, and to that is to be imputed her not sending an army into Germany to assist at the crusade.

The king of Naples did not declare war at the time that of Spain had given assurances of neutrality. The conduct of the former was very narrowly watched by the French, as every attempt was making by the English and Austrian governments to embroil him with France, in which they, however, did not, for the present, succeed.

I must now review the conduct of the grand-vicar of Jesus Christ towards France. The feeble relations between that maculate pontiff, Pius VI., and the catholic princes, are well known; for during his pontificate more abridgements and innovations were made on the papal authority than ever before was known. Joseph II., his successor Leopold, the king of Naples, and the republic of Venice, long before the French revolution, were in constant broils with Pius, who was an arch jesuit, yet a very weak man. But the national assembly, by their ecclesiastical reforms, totally suspended the tributes till then paid by the French to the see of Rome, amounting to several millions annually, nor was the tiara any longer considered in France in the same light as formerly; even so far back as 1790 and 1791, persons were sent to the inquisition in Rome, for harbouring French principles. Cagliostro was tried there for French

French principles, but that only being a constructive sort of treason against the holy see, he was actually put upon his mock trial for forgery. *Credite posteri!* But the first public and external interference of the court of Rome, with regard to France, was upon the king's flight to Varennes. For when the news of that flight reached Rome, joyous preparations were made to celebrate the event; the pope, in a proclamation, enjoined all Frenchmen to repair to the royal standard, promising they should receive his blessing. Pius also dispatched to Pacca, his nuncio at Brussels, an affectionate letter for Louis, recommending him to the protection of Heaven, praying that he may speedily return to his kingdom, and thereby be enabled to inflict *vengeance* on his infidel subjects.

When war was declared by France against Austria, Pius, not content with pulpit thunder against the infidel French, also wished to

to give them a proof of the valour of his christian janizaries; he accordingly reviewed his troops in person, consisting of about 25,000 infantry and cavalry, all best accustomed to the use of a stiletto, and brave only when a church or convent was near at hand to afford them an asylum. The command of his army was given to a Prussian adventurer, Baron de Marwitz, but never called into action. It is also necessary to remark, that when the Brunswick manifesto was issued, it was translated into Italian, posted at the corner of every street, and profusely distributed in every hole and alley in Rome, as well as in every other part of the ecclesiastical states; every Frenchman in Rome and other places belonging to the pope was imprisoned, and some even massacred. These acts naturally obliged the French government to take up the matter seriously. In November, 1792, the executive council of the French republic accordingly addressed

addressed an epistle “to the prince bishop of Rome, pontiff of the Roman church;” and after very energetically demanding the release of the imprisoned French, they proceed thus:—“Hitherto ruler of a sceptre which is ready to escape from your grasp! Know the maxims of the French republic, too just to have any thing to conceal even in diplomacy, too powerful to employ menaces, but too high-minded to overlook an outrage, she is ready to avenge it if peaceable reclamations should prove ineffectual.” It surely is manifest that the French did not wish to come to an open rupture with the triple-crowned jesuit. M. d’Azara * positively says, that natives of France were shaven and sent to the galleys, for having spoken favourably of their country. But the pope and the sacred college, not thinking they had sufficiently pleased their God by their past cruelties against the French, perpetrated a

* Then Spanish minister at the court of Rome.

crime which had never been heard even among the most savage nations : I allude to the horrid murder committed by them on the person of citizen Basseville, the French secretary of legation.

This unfortunate man had been sent by the French ambassador at Naples, officially to plead the cause of his injured countrymen at Rome ; and the answer he received from the papal secretary of state, was well calculated to quiet all his fears for the future : but the pontiff himself enveloped him in conscious security by the glowing effusions of his candour and christian benignity. The French, then in Rome, had a meeting at the palace of the academy, to make a collection among themselves for the reparation of the damage sustained by the French admiral's ship after the expedition to Naples ; and then proposed a meeting for the purpose of deliberating on the means of substituting the republican, for the regal arms, on the front of the said palace.

The

The populace of that city, as cruel and sanguinary as superstitious, either mistaking the purpose of the meeting, or prompted by their betters, furiously hurried to the academy, where they arrived before the French artists. Basseville, who on that very day was informed, by the secretary of state, that the French national cockade was no longer prohibited to be worn in Rome, accordingly exhibited that new badge of national liberty; and, previous to the appointed meeting, he took an airing in a coach with his wife, child, and Flotte, an officer of the marine. Their carriage moved slowly along the corso, one of the broadest and most frequented streets in Rome, when they were suddenly assailed with stones and fire arms. Basseville ordering the carriage to drive home, sprang out, and almost on the instant, had a bayonet sheathed in his body. Thence was he dragged, bleeding, dying, by the uncontrolled soldiery, to an adjacent guard-house, while a crowd of wretches

wretches a-thirst for blood, ran about, yelling
 “ Long live the pope!—the holy father for
 ever!—St. Bartholomew * for ever!—Death
 to every Frenchman!” Mean time the pupil
 residents in the academy expected every
 moment to be assassinated by religious barbarism,
 amid the masterly monuments of the
 arts. This bloody outrage on the laws of
 heaven and earth, on the laws of hospitality,
 and of nations, directly or indirectly pro-
 cured by the government, was, three days
 after, commented upon by the holy father,
 through his secretary of state, Zelada, in the
 following terms : “ His holiness sensibly felt
 the testimonies the people of Rome had
 given him, of their attachment to religion !
 and their affection for his holiness’s person ;
 but the holy father is *afflicted* that the same
 people, and the same emotions to which they
 had given way in expressing their sentiments.

* The saint whose feast was so indelibly stained by the
 massacre of the protestants, in Paris, and other towns
 of France.

had suffered themselves to be hurried on to *some* excesses which had *disturbed the public tranquillity* *." It was in this *mild, thankful, unembarrassed* language that the pretended vicegerent of the meek Jesus, alludes to crimes of novel atrocity !

So much for the first gigantic atrocity, on the part of the Vatican, against the French republic.

* I refer the reader for a more detailed account of this deed of horror, to the excellent memoir of the chevalier d'Azará, an eye witness to the whole.

CHAP. IV.

AS far as the purposed limits of this work would admit, I have above shewn the vicious views and conduct of the coalesced courts of the continent, against the liberties of France. I shall now endeavour to shew the conduct of the cabinet of St. James; by which, I again repeat, I exclusively mean his majesty's ministers, as also by the term government, when applied to this country. I think it proper to state, as a preliminary opinion, that almost every existing government has in its establishment, the means of making the people happy. "*Fallitur enim egregie quisquis sub principe credet servitium. Nunquam libertas gratior extat quam sub rego pio.*" By this loyal aphorism, I shall examine the conduct of the ministers of our pious king.

So

So far back as 1789, several real or pretended friends of civil liberty in this country, were pensioned, and ordered to influence their political connexions, and inveigh with all possible bitterness, against the French revolution. The cause of this enmity against a monarchy, founded on the principles of OUR OWN GLORIOUS revolution, was enigmatical. This political riddle, however, explained itself in the year 1792; for in the month of May in that year, a proclamation was issued by our cabinet, informing the people, in supererogation, that “they were free and happy*, that they had good and

* Whatever happiness, positive or negative, the people of England may enjoy, it must be stupidity itself to suppose, that a revolution in this country can ever be thought of, where the government is the sole security for the interest of more than 500 millions; and where the circulating medium of the country, is government paper, where the people of England have often paid 20 per cent. premium to become creditors to that government, which is something like paying a premium upon a bankrupt's bills!!! To think therefore of a revolution in Great-Britain, is idle!!

wholesome laws derived from the glorious revolution ;” but thus far their political charlatanery was *en masque*, for we were next told, that “ several seditious publications appeared with the encouragement of sundry persons in foreign parts, with a view to bring our sovereign’s person and government into contempt.” Now, the plain English of this same ominous proclamation was, that the French government employed Thomas Paine to write the Rights of Man, which was the cause of so much disquietude to the British cabinet. The protest of Lord Lauderdale well observed, that “ the dignity of parliament was trifled with by common place, unnecessary professions of attachment to the government, the existing laws being sufficient to prosecute the authors of libels.” Certainly no other government but that of France, could have applied to itself the most invidious allusion in the proclamation. None of the other continental courts, could have felt

felt its application. Indeed, several of our ministero-senatorial bullies, insolent in security, gave, to that effect, their scholia on the proclamation.

The objectionable complexion of the decree of the 19th of November, in the same year, which was so long and so disgustingly bandied about by ministerial ribaldry in the house, and the spurious eloquence of mercenary scribes out of doors, was, to every man of candour, afterwards very satisfactorily explained away, and disavowed by the French government. Did the virtuous and regular government of England ever deign to stoop to any thing like conciliation, except with their scalping allies of North America, and the states of Barbary, with a view to direct their cruel ferocity against some Christian state?

In the month of May, 1792, the French government sent M. Chauvelin, as their

new minister to this country, who delivered a confidential letter * from the king of France to the king of England, “ requesting him to shew M. Chauvelin every attention, and declaring himself full of confidence in the good intentions of his royal brother of England, towards France.”

On the 12th of May, he presented a note to Lord Grenville, the most insolent of his majesty's three secretaries of state, in which were respectfully assigned ample reasons for declaring war against the emperor, and that “ aggrandisement was not the view of the French government ; and in consequence of its having been said in the British senate, that attempts had been made by France to stir up the people of this country against the government, the French king desired to have it known, that he publicly and secretly dis-

* Dated Paris, May 1. See state papers of the year 1792.

avowed every thought of fomenting or favouring insurrections in a friendly country ; and that he should consider such a proceeding as a violation of the law of nations." Such a declaration, surely, proves no intention in the French government to provoke the ill will of the government of this country. Twelve days had elapsed before an answer was delivered ; and at last it stated, " that his Britannic majesty would maintain his neutrality, and that nothing on his part should cause a breach in the good understanding existing between the two nations. The *sacred sincerity* of this answer will be noted in the sequel of this work.

Shortly after war had been declared by France against Austria, a proclamation appeared in the Gazette, notifying, in the usual course, the war between France and the emperor, and forbidding privateers or letters of marque being fitted out against either of

the belligerent powers. But mark what follows:—"His majesty, for the preservation and continuance of friendship and amity between him and their said majesties, prohibits all his subjects to take any commission by sea or land, in the service of such powers now in amity with his majesty."

Every body knows the emperor does *not* want *English officers in his army**, and he has no fleets; of course to that quarter the whole of that part of the proclamation, could bear no application. It was therefore meant

* An English clergyman, of the highest respectability, related to me the following anecdote :

Having been in company with some Austrian officers, one of them, a colonel, asked him what countrymen those brave fellows called English sailors, were. On being informed they were natives of Great Britain, he exclaimed : "What ! compatriots to the soldiers who fought under the Duke of York, in Flanders ?" On being answered in the affirmative, he added, "There must then be two *very distinct* nations in your island." But if this sarcasm had any foundation, it must be imputed to the native repugnance of Englishmen, to fight against liberty.

that

that no Englishman should be employed in the French marine. This, indeed, is a novel point for prohibition ; for British officers have been allowed to enter in the service of Russia when at war with the Porte, though the latter power was at the same time at profound peace and amity with us. For instance, admiral Greig, as well as several others. Sir Sidney Smith was in the Swedish service in the late war between that country and Russia.—Did not all this prove the real intentions of our cabinet ?

I must here relate a fact which will at once put out of all doubt, the friendly disposition of the French government towards this country. They desired M. Chauvelin, or his chargé d'affaires, M. Talleyrand, to notify in confidence, to either of his majesty's ministers, that the points of dispute between France and Austria should be left to the

decision of the British court *. What can a government do more? I believe it was advised not to have a confidential communication, but to present an official one, which was adopted. But it now became necessary for the French government to call upon the British court for a public avowal of its conduct. In consequence of having learned that the English cabinet had acceded to the treaty of Pavia, and were remitting large sums of money to the care of monsieur de Calonne, the arch-chancellor of the emigrants; and that those emigrants had their pockets lined with English money, were travelling from one end of Europe to the other, to beat up for recruits for the crusading legions; that the infamous manifesto of the duke of Brunswick originated in the cabinet of St. James; and that the English envoys on the continent had it

* See earl Stanhope's memorable speech in the House of Lords, 20th February, 1800.

profusely distributed in several languages; even before it was publicly issued *, a note was presented by M. Chauvelin to the noble secretary above mentioned, stating “ that the French government wished the mediation of the court of St. James, in the contest with Austria.”—Mark the answer of our candid cabinet! “ The king of Great Britain could not interfere unless it was desired by all the parties, and by such means as are compatible with his dignity, and with the principles which govern his conduct; and that as his majesty was determined not to interfere in the internal affairs of France, he was also determined to respect the rights and the independence of other sovereigns.”

What a *tale* for a regular government! After perusing the treaty of Pavia, can any

* I declare upon *my honour*, and am willing to make oath, that one of the king of Prussia's cabinet (private) secretaries, Baron F——, assured me it was a fact.

one doubt that the cabinet of St. James did concern itself about the internal and external affairs of France? Consequently lord Grenville might with safety say, that “unless solicited by *all* the parties, his Britannic majesty could not interfere,” well knowing that no such application would be made by Austria.

A very short time after the above declaration, the king of France was deposed. This important event took place on the 10th of August. Orders were sent immediately to earl Gower, the British ambassador at Paris, to return home immediately. And his lordship caused a circular letter to be sent to the English then in France, which stated, “that the events which had taken place on the 10th of August, had induced his court to recall him, desiring all Englishmen to quit the territory of king-haters, and that he could not be responsible for the consequences.”

quences *." *Was not this something like interfering with the internal and external affairs of France?*

Some time in the month of June, certain societies in England subscribed for 10,000 pair of shoes, as a present for the French soldiers going to fight the barbarous legions sent against them. The shoes were regularly cleared at the custom-house, and shipped for France, when they were stopped in the river by an order of council, although such a shipment could only have been considered in a commercial point of view, and consequently agreeably to the treaty of commerce then existing between the two nations. *What does this look like?*

About the same time, several vessels laden

* Doctor Warner of patriotic memory, then lord Gower's chaplain, related this to me as a fact; and because Dr. Warner had a desire to remain France, the *enragée* diplomatist dismissed him from the chaplaincy.

with

with corn were shipped for France, and that, agreeably to existing treaties, they were all paid for; yet, *proh fides!* they were stopped by the same order. What could justify *such multiplied* infractions of the commercial treaty?

Shortly after the 10th of August, lord Grenville, in his majesty's name, presented a note to M. Chauvelin, which stated "that in consequence of events which had occurred in France, he (M. Chauvelin) could not be considered in England in any other way than a private gentleman;" and although, upon the convocation of the national convention, according to the wishes of the French people, a republic was declared to be the government of France, and that government sent credentials to the French minister in London, still the cabinet of St. James persist in acknowledging no diplomatic minister, but from the king. Was not this a *direct* interference in the internal affairs of France?

As

As the limits of this work will not admit my entering into military details, I only mean to notice, *en passant*, a crime of the most flagrant nature, committed by the crowned conspirators of the continent. On the 19th of August, 1792, M. de la Fayette, the generous friend of his king, and the first revolution, deserted the French army, with his état-major; yet, for this very decided act of hostility to the new order of things, they were arrested by the Prussians, in the neutral country of Liege, and, contrary to the laws of nation, they were sent to Namur, in Flanders, and thence to Magdebourg, in Prussia. But the royal jailor of Magdebourg next transferred them to turnkey Francis, in whose loathsome dungeons they remained four years, when general Bonaparte, with his wonted humanity, voluntarily and successfully * interested himself for
the

* I say voluntarily, because the executive directory could not with propriety interfere; but Bonaparte, who has always

the liberation of these much injured, unfortunate captives. On what principle? What was the crime of M. de la Fayette? For what offence arrested? Did not he desert his post, and quit his country, when his sovereign, to whom he owed his situation, and had sworn allegiance, was deposed? Yes, the champion of rational liberty*, must have been highly criminal in the eyes of those two crowned ruffians; nor, I fear, is the cabinet of St. James pure from this liberticide abomination.

ways shewn himself generous even to his enemies, interfered at the treaty of Campo Formio; and instead of receiving a *douceur*, as is customary on such occasions, only wished to have the captives liberated.

* Nor did the malice of those flagitious cabinets rest even there: their insatiable cruelty was wreaked on female virtue, innocence, and beauty, as if Francis partook of the frigidity of our heaven-born minister, combined with the fabled brutality of a giant in romance, he rewarded the filial and conjugal virtues of madame de la Fayette, and her lovely daughters, with the same dungeon in which the illustrious sire and consort languished.

In the month of December, following up the spirit and pretences of the former proclamation in England, another called out the militia, without any one apparent reason for so unconstitutional a measure. A speech from the throne, at the opening of parliament, tells the nation, that, owing to the late proclamation, that ministerial phantom, called sedition, was checked. What act of sedition? What symptom of a symptom of insurrection, or attempt at political innovation, then appeared in the conduct of the people of this country? From the month of May till that inauspicious period, no satellite of political juggle and oppression can name one single instance of innovation, except in the conduct of the cabinet itself. The minister makes the father of his people further say: "I have carefully observed *a strict neutrality* in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference in the internal affairs in France." *Credat Judeus apella.*

About the same time, M. Chauvelin presented another note to the same secretary, stating, " that the French executive council wished all the clouds occasioned by events in the internal state of France were dissipated. Several measures recently adopted by the court of St. James, had given the French government great disquietude, reflecting on the reasons which might determine his Britannic majesty to break with the French republic. The executive council can see them only in a false interpretation given, perhaps, to the decree of the convention of the 19th November *. If the British ministry are really alarmed by that decree, it can only be for want of comprehending the true meaning of it. The national convention never intended that the French republic should favour insurrections, and espouse the cause of a few seditious persons, or in a word,

* See lord Stanhope's memorable speech in the House of Lords, Feb. 20, 1800.

that it should endeavour to excite disturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever, &c. &c. With respect to Holland, France declares that she does not mean to attack Holland, while that power confines itself within the bounds of strict neutrality." Mark the answer of our virtuous, moderate cabinet. After solemnly declaring at the opening of parliament, that it does not intend to interfere with the internal state of France, it says, by the modest lips of lord Grenville, "I have received your note, in which, styling yourself a minister from the French republic, you communicate to me, as the king's secretary of state, the instructions which you state to have yourself received from the executive council of the French republic. You are not ignorant, that since the events of the 10th of August, *the king has thought proper to suspend all communication with France.* You are no otherwise accredited than by the French king. The proposition of receiving a minister from

any other authority is a new question for the king to decide: and I am further to inform you, in *express terms*, that I acknowledge you in no other public character than from the French king." Are there more proofs requisite to demonstrate the aggressive insolence of the British cabinet, in forcing the deceived, insulted republic of France, into a war with this country?

Shortly after the meeting of parliament, the Alien Bill passed into a law which was directly and exclusively meant against France, and a new infringement of the treaty of 1787! Another bill of the same complexion and principle passed at the same time, to prevent the circulation of assignats, bonds, or any other obligations of the French government in this country. As it could not be considered as a rival to our own raggery, it was certainly with the intent of doing every thing possible to provoke the French to declare war.

Early

Early in the month of January, lord Auckland, the British ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to the States General, the most contemptible composition that ever was penned for such an occasion. After stating that the king, his master, certain that their high mightinesses will act exactly as he does with regard to France, he thus expresses himself of the enlightened statesmen of that country. “ Not four years ago some WRETCHES, assuming the title of philosophers, had the presumption to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society. In order to realise that dream of vanity, they have destroyed all discipline, manners, and religion. As to their *discipline*, the duke of Brunswick, general Clairfait, and the duke of Saxe Teschen, might at that time justly give the direct lie to his lordship’s assertion. Their destructive principles have but too well succeeded; but the effects of the new system which they

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endeavoured

endeavoured to introduce, served only to shew the imbecility and villany of its authors (elegantly expressed, my lord; a pity, however, you should have lost *your manners*); and that the just and sincere king, his master, *who lives and exists only for the welfare and happiness of Europe*, has thought proper to make preparations for war, in order to defend the territories of their high mightinesses." Generous, *unsolicited* interference of his majesty's ministers! After all these threats, ribaldry, and intrigues, of the British cabinet, can the French government be still called the aggressors? They who, day after day, presented memorials to shew their willingness to be at peace with Great Britain! And even to secure it, they offered to relinquish all ideas of opening the Scheldt! To all which the British ministers return indecorous, irritating answers! Those men that, in their legislative capacity, or private exertions, sanctioned such conduct, deserve to be im-

plicated

plicated with the authors of it! Where, Britain, is thy wisdom, thine indignation? Where thy honour, thy dignity? What horrors shall hereafter mark the black pages of thy diplomatic history!! What millions of cold-blooded murders shall sanguine thy types!!

During all the tumult in the public mind, the news arrived in London of the execution of Louis XVI. an event that commensurately injured the cause of Gallic liberty in this country, and strengthened the hands of men, the decided, enterprising foes of universal liberty.

The philosopher (ever averse to the shedding of human blood) lamented the execution of Louis, as an impolitic act. He also, in just anticipation, saw it would, like the serpent of Cadmus, produce myriads of avengers. He also was painfully aware what a tyrannical and sanguinary use the liberticide cabinets

of belligerent Europe, would make of that event. M. Chauvelin now received a note from lord Grenville to the following effect: “ Sir; the character which you have been invested with here, and the functions of which, have long ceased, being now entirely terminated by the fatal murder of the king your master, you have no longer any public character here. The king can no longer, after such an event, permit your residence here. His majesty has thought fit *to order you out of the kingdom within eight days from the date hereof.*”

A day or two after the above note was presented, a French courier, with dispatches to M. Chauvelin, was arrested on his arrival at Dover, brought up to town as a prisoner, but shortly after dismissed, his *dispatches, however, having been forcibly taken from him.* After such violent, insolent conduct, I need not adduce any more proofs of aggression on
the

the part of our cabinet. Yet, after such repeated acts, any one of which, according to the usages of civilised nations, was tantamount to a declaration of war *, the French government still wished to come to amicable explanations, and sent more new ministers here, with the same spirit of conciliation, and inefficacy : and even after every attempt to adjust matters had failed, they did not declare war against this country till the month of February in the following year.

* See Vattel on the Laws of Nations, p. 470.

CHAP. V.

WE have now to take a view of the state of affairs in Holland. It is well known that there were two parties in that country: the Orange faction, entirely devoted to the English interest; and the other party, not improperly calling themselves the patriots, and which formed not only the majority, but the most respectable and wealthy part of the inhabitants. The Dutch government, consisting all of the stadtholderian party, were persuaded that if the French were to invade Holland, the patriots, who never could reconcile themselves to the Orange party, would immediately hoist the standard of revolt.—They accordingly appointed two commissioners to go and treat with general Dumouriez; and it is a well known fact, that

that they actually procured a peace for their country, even without the imperious interference of our cabinet. What is my lord Auckland's conduct on this occasion? Knowing that if the Dutch made peace with France, England would not have had a pretext for declaring war upon the principle of defending her allies; he declares to the grand pensionary, Vander Spiegel, that if he ratifies the treaty, he will leave the Hague, and the king his master will declare war against Holland *.

In this predicament, what were the Dutch to do? Menaced both by France and England, how were they to proceed? However, the stadtholder's influence, and the dictating pride of England, prevailed over every other consideration, and Holland accordingly broke with

* This fact I confidently avouch on the authority of M. Caspar Meyer, Batavian minister at Paris, with whom I have had the pleasure of corresponding. See *Appendix C*.

the French. Not indeed for their great love for their friends of Britain, but the stadtholder received a round douceur from England; besides, 300,000 pounds of his property was already vested in the British funds. Thus, by the private avarice, pride, lust, ambition, or caprice, of their rulers, are nations lugged into the many-featured horrors of war. But as a jocular prelude to this commencing tragedy, a Dutch, that is, an Anglo-stadtholderian, manifesto appears; not a word in it about the recent negotiations and the *real cause of its failure*; a circumstance indeed not even now generally known; but it states that “the Dutch are free and independent, and that the specious name of liberty and equality, is only a bugbear; it calls on the people to arm themselves to support their *independence*.” I would ask Mr. Grand Pensionary, how he can call any state *free* or *independent*, that is perpetually subject to *foreign* interference? Livy
will

will tell him, *Civitas ea in libertate est posita quæ suis stat. viribus, non ex alieno arbitrio pendet.*

Having above stated the ignominious treatment M. Chauvelin experienced in this country, I now resume the sequel of that subject. The executive council of France, seeing their embassador so treated, their neighbours bullied into the coalition, and the armies of France at the same time victorious over an insolent and rancorous foe, still virtuously laboured to check the indignation of their brave warriors, and the rising ravages of war; they sent as embassador to this country, M. Maret, with full powers to do away every misunderstanding between Great Britain and France; and, upon very good authority, I can aver that the propositions he brought to this country, consisted of the following proposals:

- I. To cede most of that part of Belgium
which

which they had conquered, including Antwerp, and annex it to the Seven United Provinces.

II. In lieu of such part of Belgium as was retained by the French, they would cede to the English their possessions in St. Domingo.

III. To repeal the obnoxious decree of the 19th November.

IV. To hold a congress, at which a British minister was to assist for the purpose of bringing about a general peace.

But instead of these propositions being listened to, M. Maret was ordered out of the country, by a power irreconcilably hostile to the peace and freedom of France. Yet he was sent here a second time. But then he was not allowed even to come up to London: however, he was informed that instructions

structions were sent to the British ambassador at the Hague, to hold a conference with general Dumouriez. The British minister did repair to have a conference with Dumouriez, it is true ; but was it to prevent the spreading horrors of war? Alas! no.—It was by meanly bribing Dumouriez, to prevent the invasion of Holland, and to induce him to seduce or betray his army. Can lord Auckland deny it? If he does, general Dumouriez does not. The bribe was received, and Dumouriez was as good as his word.

I must here quote another instance of the good and peaceable intentions of the French government towards Holland and England. Shortly after the conquest of Belgium, Dumouriez wrote to the executive council, wishing to take possession of Maestricht, alleging that without it, he could neither defend the Meuse nor the territory of Liege. He proposed to take the place without entering

tering further into hostilities with the Dutch, and engaging to restore it at the end of the war. (The place might have been taken by a coup-de-main, as it was not even palisadoed.) The executive council, however, much to their honour, declined the proposal, and expressly commanded the general "to preserve the strictest neutrality towards the United Provinces."—Does not this afford an additional, irrefragable proof of the moderation of the republicans, and the criminal conduct and views of the "regular" governments?

At that period, the whole of the United Provinces might have been subdued by 10,000 French troops.—And yet the French have been held up as robbers and free-booters. War was at length declared; and after such repeated and manifold acts of aggression on the part of *all* the coalesced cabinets, especially that of St. James, can the people
of

of Europe ever expect a peace, as long as the authors of it remain in power? Heaven was blasphemously, and earth proclamationally invoked to destroy the abominable infidel race of Frenchmen, who would not submit to have laws dictated to them by those honest, orthodox, church-going worthies, who signed the treaty of Pavia. It seems the political conclave of England, and the religious one of Rome, employed all their resources; the former its financial, the latter its religious treasures to unite Europe for the annihilation of the French. The sacred brothers of the war-breathing cabinet of England, allured its brethren of Europe by holding out to them subsidies and territorial compensations; and lest they might have any religious qualms about becoming accomplices in incalculable murders, the head of the religious conclave stepped forth, by promising them dispensations and constant prayers to the God of mercy for their bloody success. And this “energetic old man’s”

man's" proclamations were no less diligently and zealously issued *. " At the sound of the bell which shall call upon you to meet the infidels, and when your country is invaded, let all the men run to arms; let them send off forage and cattle to the interior of the country; stagnate the waters that they may be destroyed by thirst: let them set fire to whatever else remains; and let them endeavour to destroy by every practicable means a lawless and merciless enemy." What a pity that the holy Roman-catholic church was formerly so prodigal of its miracles! had but half a dozen remained in the old chest, what rare sport Pius VI. would have had with the modern infidels. Mitred knave!—*We still see miracles; the miracles of republican energy, wisdom, and philanthropy; miracles that have laid thee and many of thy fellow conspirators in the dust!!!*

* Memoirs of Pius VI.

The catholic states, of course, obeyed the mandates of this HOLY FATHER. War was declared by Spain, Portugal, and Naples, against France. Citizen Bourgoing, who was, at that time, the French envoy at the court of Spain, received instructions from his government to proceed to Lisbon to try to accommodate matters there. But the religious and political fanatics of that country, the native priests, their dupes, and the English merchants, arranged matters, so that on his arrival at Lisbon, he was hooted and pelted by the populace; not a tavern-keeper durst give him a night's lodging; he was therefore obliged to leave Lisbon, and retire to the other side of the Tagus, opposite Lisbon, called *Aldeagallego*. Here he sent an account to his government, of what had happened. In the afternoon he heard that at the request of the British minister, Mr. Walpole, orders for his arrest had been issued, upon which Mr. Bourgoing, in disguise and

on foot, made the best of his way to France, where he arrived in safety. The agents of the English government were also at work with those powers whom they could influence, and who had not yet declared war against France. The affairs of Holland, they had already managed. The French minister at Hamburgh, M. le Hoc, had received orders to quit Hamburgh in three days. M. le Hoc waited on the senate, and remonstrated; the acting burgomaster candidly told him, that count Bender, the imperial minister, had made that requisition in the name of the emperor. A day or two after such communication, Mr. F——, the British agent, called on the acting burgomaster, whose name is *Poppe*, a very respectable merchant, to whom I appeal for the truth of my statement *, and told him that he had orders from his court to cause the arrest of any

* I was at Hamburgh at the time.

French diplomatic character, when or where they might be found. Mr. Poppe was startled, but conducted himself in a manner that will ever reflect honour on him ; he replied, “ Mr. F——, you must well know that I “ am not an advocate for the new French “ principles; this is a free and imperial city, “ and the emperor is the only power we have “ a right to obey. The imperial minister “ waited on me in the emperor’s name, and “ demanded the banishment of M. le Hoc : “ which I notified to him, and he means to “ depart within the time allowed him. This “ is a step not agreeable to my feelings, as I “ know there are many Hamburgh merchants “ who have much shipping and property in “ France belonging to Hamburgh; I can foresee the consequence, and were I to do that “ which you require of me, it would be still “ worse. I remember *Corinth* was destroyed “ by violating the sacred persons of embassadors; posterity reads with indignation, the “ conduct

“conduct of Charles XII. and the perfidy of
 “Augustus in delivering up Patkul *: I shall
 “therefore resist such a demand.” Mr. F——
 replied, that as he seemed to act only by
 orders of the imperial minister, he should
 wait on the minister. Mr. Poppe immediately
 sent for Messrs. Vogt and Sieveking
 (respectable merchants at Hamburgh), who
 were intimate with M. le Hoc, told them
 what had happened, and desired them, in
 the name of the senate of Hamburgh, to
 present him with 20,000 dollars, for the ex-
 pence of his journey, and when he returned
 to his country, to plead the cause of the
 Hamburghers, and to represent to his go-
 vernment the true cause of such proceed-
 ings, &c. And Mr. Poppe further told Messrs.

* Patkul was a Russian ambassador at Dresden, when
 the king of Poland, who was elector of Saxony, made
 peace with Charles XII. king of Sweden. He had by a
 secret article in the treaty, engaged to deliver up Patkul to
 the mad Swede, who was much incensed against him, and
 had him executed in a most barbarous manner.

Vogt

Vogt and Sievéking, that the only way to prevent the arrest of M. le Hoc, would be to let him immediately go on board an American vessel, if any in the Elbe, which luckily for M. le Hoc was the case. In justice to M. le Hoc, I must say that he has received the public thanks from the city of Hamburgh, for his conduct on his return home; not a shilling of Hamburgh property in France confiscated, nor an embargo laid upon any of her ships.

Mr. Vogt had an American vessel consigned to him, and lying then in the Elbe; M. le Hoc with his family went on board that ship, and was sent to France at the expence of Mr. Vogt: for the truth of my statement, I apply to that gentleman; he will not deny it as he told it me himself. Thus M. le Hoc and his accomplished daughters escaped the loathsome dungeons of Austria or Prussia. In the course of this diplomatic intercourse at Hamburgh, it came out that

the French diplomatic agents were to be seized on any territory, and in any manner, and dealt with according to lord Auckland's memorial to the States General, when Bournonville and the four deputies were betrayed by Dumouriez, and which I shall notice in its proper place; indeed count Bender's son declared to me, that this was the firm determination of the royal tygers of Germany, with the assistance of jackall Pitt.

The councils of Denmark having been governed by an unanointed head, Mr. Bernstorff's, the ambassadors of the allies had some warm work and loud bullying with him. Indeed they told him in plain terms, that if Denmark did not join the coalition, she would be blotted out from the rank of nations, and insisted on M. Grouvelle the French minister's departure, declaring that as long as that man was suffered to go to court,

court, no other embassador would. Such insolent conduct was adopted by Mr. Hailes in particular, that he became the butt of ridicule and contempt, not only of the people of Denmark, but of every foreigner residing at Copenhagen; he was lampooned, caricatured, and as he *called it*, *libelled* in the newspapers. Mr. H. thought himself in *free England*, and wanted the journalist prosecuted; but they told him that their laws did not consider truth a libel; that is to say, to prosecute a subject for writing the truth, would be contrary to their laws. Mr. H. flew into a passion, said he would leave the country if réparation was not made to appease this magnanimous diplomatist. The poor journalist was brought to trial, and sentenced to one month's imprisonment; thus ended this mighty negotiation. At last, finding all bullying with Denmark of no avail, the dey of Algiers had a *douceur* from a certain

cabinet, to induce him to declare war against Denmark and America for the same reason.

Switzerland did not escape the menaces and insults of the British ambassador, lord R. Fitzgerald, who very energetically insisted on a declaration of war against France, and on sending away M. Barthelemi, the French minister, without any provocation whatever; on the contrary, Basle was at this period what Coblentz was in June, 1792, the rendezvous of emigrants, and the depôts of arms for the allied army; therefore, the French had cause of complaint, and not the English:—the Swiss were not, however, easily frightened, and they very prudently maintained their neutrality.

Florence resisting all the intrigues of the Vatican, was now threatened with the thunder of British cannon, and lord Hervey notified
to

to the grand-duke of Tuscany, that unless he declared war against France, the English fleet would destroy Leghorn, march an English army to Florence, and compel him instantly to send M. la Flotte, the French minister, out of the kingdom; nor did lord Hervey's insolence stop here, he had the presumption to present a certain internal regulation, which he insisted should be adopted, concerning Frenchmen residing in the Tuscan territories*. The grand-duke was obliged to comply; and he declared war against France†.

The republic of Genoa was exactly in the same predicament as Hamburgh; its citizens had vast sums in France, in commercial houses, and departing from its neutrality, would be the inevitable ruin of its citizens;

* APPENDIX, B. *Page 248*

† This is a most curious circumstance; the emperor did not interfere with his own brother, who is the grand-duke of Tuscany, but let the bullying cabinet of England do it.

nay

nay the government itself received upon
 loans to France, the annual sum of 1,400,000
 livres; this was represented to the British
 minister Mr. Drake, who insisted upon an
 unqualified declaration of war against France,
 without offering any indemnification what-
 ever for the losses she might sustain. Find-
 ing all remonstrances of no avail, he even
 threatened to destroy the place; he quitted
 Genoa, and it was not only blockaded, but the
 most flagrant violation of the laws of na-
 tions was committed by the English ships
 before war was declared. Some French
 vessels were lying in the mole of Genoa,
 and protected by the batteries; our vessels
 cut them out, and even fired upon the
 batteries! After such conduct on the part of
 the English, the senate declared that if she
 is forced from her neutrality, she never can
 take part with those who have threatened
 her with such unprovoked injustice, and
 committed acts of *piracy* in her harbour.

Such

Such has been the conduct of the British cabinet and its agents.

The means used to embroil Sweden in the war, are singular. What I state is an authentic fact, my authority is M. Peyron, the Swedish minister at Hamburgh.

In the early part of this work, I have very clearly stated the cause and the consequences that would attend the assassination of Gustavus; namely, that Sweden would not be embroiled in the contest with France. How is the obstacle to be removed that caused the non-interference of Sweden? This was the duke-regent of Sudermania, Gustavus's brother. Mark the means devised by some of the coalesced cabinets to attain their end.

The court of Sweden was represented in France by M. de Stael, a good but very weak man; his wife, a daughter of Neckar's,
a great

a great *intrigante*, and a busy-meddling woman, destitute of morals, and even common decency; a woman who appeared in public in a state of pregnancy when her husband had been absent from her eighteen months.

Every mean was used by the secret agents of the coalesced powers, to prevail on this meddling woman to provoke the just vengeance of the French government. She tried every thing; all known royalists visited her levees; she procured passports under fictitious names, for proscribed persons; a conduct not proceeding from humane motives, but for reasons already alleged. However, all would not do.—Something else must be tried.—A Swedish baron, d'Armfeldt, a bitter enemy to the French, was at this time at Paris, and it was agreed upon to assassinate the duke-regent, and all his ministers; to place the young king, then fifteen
years

years of age, on the throne ; Russia was to send a fleet of 20 ships of the line to Stockholm, and to land 10,000 troops at Delaro, twenty English miles from Stockholm, to overawe the capital ; and the first act of the young king, was to declare war against France, and the next to put Russia in possession of Swedish Finland. The reasons of such proceedings were to be stated in a manifesto, viz. that *jacobin principles* had been disseminated in the country ; and that to such doctrines their late king fell a victim, &c. Before the conspiracy was ripe, happily for Sweden, it was discovered. D'Armfeldt was still at Paris ; however, in the whole course of the proceedings, it never appeared that M. de Stael was privy to it. Orders were sent by the regent of Sweden, to all his ambassadors, to have d'Armfeldt arrested (being a state criminal). Mad. de Stael was not a little confounded when she saw her scheme frustrated ; she, however, procured him a passport,

port, under a fictitious name, for Naples, whence he proceeded to Vienna, and thence to Hamburgh, where he had a narrow escape of being arrested by Mr. Peyron ; he got off and went to Russia, where honours and titles were lavishly heaped upon him. Let the surprise of men cease, when they hear that *regular governments* have been accessory to Kleber's murder, and to the murders of the French deputies at Rastadt, and formed many abortive plans for the like deeds of death, with an ingenuity worthy of their sublime destiny and heavenly unction.

CHAP. VI.

THOUGH the French government knew all these proceedings, and where they had originated, still their desire for peace with this country remained ardent and unaltered. Accordingly, in the month of April, two months after they had declared war, M. le Brun, minister for foreign * affairs, applied, through the means of an English gentleman, to lord Grenville for a passport for M. Maret to come over (a third time) to treat for peace. These letters were not even answered. And next, in order to prevent Englishmen going to France, where they might learn the true state of things, and the more effectually to stop all intercourse between the two nations, a bill was brought

* APPENDIX D.

into parliament, called the Traitorous Correspondence Bill, making it *felony* for any person to return from, or to go to France without the permission of government (not even those who were then in France, and ignorant of this act), or to send or receive letters from that country. That such a bill was ever suffered to be carried into effect, will astonish posterity if the *genuine history of the parliament, and the ministry of those times*, happen *not* to reach them.

I have already observed, that the ministers of England would not enter into any direct negociation with the *king-haters of France*; yet, that lord Auckland would deign to hold a conference with Dumouriez, not, however, for the purpose of restoring peace to Europe, but to introduce a system of the basest corruption and bribery, by means of treasure obtained from the passive degenerate *people of Britain*. The noble agent's peculiar
adroitness

adroitness for matters of that nature, appeared in the subsequent treason of Dumouriez against his country, his duty, honour, and even his real interest. The traitor was to proclaim royalty, to march his army to Paris, while the allied army were to follow him. Thus did the ambassador of the most *honourable, civilised, moral, religious, and humane* state in Europe, violate the laws of nations and of wisdom; and all this at the time that the virtuous Lord Auckland was ostensibly devising the most probable means of *restoring and securing* the peace of Europe! He plausibly exhibited a desire for pacification; while treason, desolation, and massacre, were destined to be the result of his mission; and thus did he, in the face of all Europe, tarnish the sacred and pre-eminently honourable character he bore *. He took advantage of its inviolability, for the purpose

* See Vattel's Laws of Nations, book iv. chap. vii. p. 473. by Robinson.

of plotting, in security, the ruin of those who respected that character ; and in repugnance to all the rules of virtue and probity, and in flagrant violation of the laws of honour and of nations.

The *honourable* arrangements made between his lordship and Dumouriez were not immediately known ; if they had, much blood would have been spared ; and, notwithstanding the most solemn assurances on the part of the Austrian generals, Clairfait, Cobourg, and colonel Mack, they attacked the French in a wanton, barbarous manner, well knowing that Dumouriez did not expect it. And after three days' hard fighting, 20,000 French became the victims of double treachery and dishonour on the part of their pretended friends, as well as of their enemies. Thus every mean was taken, the more barbarous the more eligible, to exterminate freedom with the race of Frenchmen. The four commissioners

missioners and a general are seized by the same corruption and treason, and closely confined in loathsome dungeons, for eighteen months, three of which they passed in Maestricht, and fifteen more in the characteristic dens of Spiegelberg, in Moravia. Barbarous violators of the laws of nations and humanity, ye deserve the vengeance that threatens you!

Lord Auckland, in a great measure, baffled in his schemes of bribery and political seduction, next presented, jointly with the imperial minister, Count Stahrenberg, a memorial to the States General. This diplomatic *morçeau* deserves particular attention; it states, “ that in the month of September preceding, the king, his master, and their high mightinesses, gave, in concert, a solemn assurance, that in case the danger which threatened their christian majesties should be realized, his majesty and their high mightinesses would prevent any of those persons

G 2

guilty

guilty of such a crime, from finding an asylum in their respective states. This event has taken place, and the divine vengeance seems not to have been tardy. Some of these detestable *wretches* are now in such a situation that they can be subjected to the sword of the law, and that they may serve as a lesson and example to all mankind *."

Very shortly after those proceedings, a most nefarious and, in the annals of any *other* nation, unexampled act of blood and

* I can state from authority, that it was the wish of a *certain* ambassador at the Hague to have general Bournonville, and the four deputies, in prison at Maestricht, *hanged*. The wary Dutch, in their usual forethought, calculated perfectly well what they might expect, if the fortune of war shifted, and brought the French into Holland. In this murderous request, he was *feebly* seconded by another minister, all the remainder of the corps diplomatique having set their faces against it. And the able manner Lord A*****'s conduct was taken up by several members of both houses of parliament, might have given an additional check to practices of the same black hue.

rapine,

rapine, was committed by the Austrians on the persons of the two French ministers, men of the most inviolable character, Messrs. Semonville and Maret; the former was going on an *embassy* to Constantinople, the latter, in the same sacred quality, to Naples *.

M. Semonville had been already some time at Berne: during his stay there, ruffians were bribed by the ministers of the coalesced powers, to shew him every possible

* The generous and romantic Francis the First of France, sent two diplomatic ministers, Rincon and Fregose; one, like the much-injured Semonville, destined for Constantinople, the other for Venice: they embarked on the Po; but had not proceeded far, before they were attacked and murdered, by order of Charles V., another German emperor and Austrian despot, at that time at peace with France. And, like the savage murderers of the late plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, when remonstrances were made to him, he said he suspected it was of Francis's own perpetrating. Thus, then, has Austria the *solitary* infamy of having thrice sent her assassins against the ambassadors of France: despotic or republican France sees alike, in the *thick lip* of Austria, an unerring symbol of assassination.

indignity. And next, the Austrian resident at Genoa received information that Semonville was to set out for Constantinople; he accordingly formed the plan, in concert with Austrian agents in Switzerland, to have the ministers arrested: by this it should seem that the ministers of the coalesced powers had unqualified instructions to do any thing they pleased, so far as regarded the injury, insult, or utter destruction, of Frenchmen. Accordingly, on M. Maret's arrival at Berne, they set out together; but they had no sooner entered a wood near Coire, than they were attacked by Austrian hussars, several of their servants were murdered, as also M. Semonville's son and M. Maret's lady. The two ministers were chained like felons, and conducted in those fetters to the fortress of Brunn in Moravia, where they remained in miserable captivity for about twenty months. The property
they

they were robbed of was immense*. Semonville's instructions and dispatches, which as usual were written in cyphers, were forwarded to Vienna†. The persons, however, employed to decypher them, could not; and M. SEMONVILLE WAS ABSOLUTELY PUT TO THE TORTURE TO COMPEL HIM TO DECYPHER HIS OWN INSTRUCTIONS!!! Nor does the atrocity of the court of Vienna rest here: M.

* The jewels, plate, &c. taken from M. Semonville, according to the Austrian accounts, consisted of two gilt carriage, all his papers and instructions, two boxes with *diamonds*, as presents for the grand-seignior, valued at two millions of florins, amongst which was that famous brilliant called the regent; two other boxes with precious jewels, a service of gold plate for fifty persons, 200,000 louis-d'ors in cash, and an immense quantity of rich stuffs, laces, cambrics, &c. &c.

Hamburg Correspondent, 25th August, 1793.

† "The papers found upon Semonville have been of great importance; much praise is due to the vigilance of our government, for the apprehension of these deputies."

Vienna Court Gazette, 28th September, 1793.

Here is public, systematic villany of the blackest, bloodiest hue, held up for national example and approbation!

Semonville was of course expected at Constantinople. The Porte being determined to maintain its neutrality, every attention was shewn to M. Desforches, the French chargé d'affaire, and all the French in the Ottoman dominions.

But what, in this climax of villany, does the court of Vienna, to get the French in Turkey, massacred? A note is presented by baron Herbert, the Austrian minister at Constantinople, stating "that the Porte is much indebted to the emperor for seizing M. Semonville, as it appeared by his instructions, that he was sent thither to create disturbances, disseminate jacobin principles, to procure the *assassination of the grand-seignior*, and get the grand-vizier* proclaimed in his stead." The successor of Mahomet, however, with a dignity un-

* To whom France and Turkey were indebted for their neutrality.

known to the sorry tyrants of christendom, treated the note with the contempt it deserved. Such, and infinitely baser efforts, were employed to vilify and destroy the French name! Can the sleek hirelings of those flagitious cabinets, refute this, or any other statement I have made? They may justly say with a much better man—

“ Pudet hæc opprobia nobis

“ Et potuisse dici et non potuisse *refelli*.”

CHAP. VII.

WHAT malice, pride, falsehood, and madness, have marked our guilty career in this war of purposed extermination! Ere yet the sword of barbarous hostility was drawn against the people of France, as well as after that event, we did all in our *power to starve them!!!* It must have struck every good man, that if there was a God in heaven, the atrocity of such a design could not go unpunished. We feel it at this moment; and have too justly felt it, these four years past; and when we shall cease to feel it, is known only to that dread, avenging power that has inflicted it.

“ Omnia fanda nefanda malo permista furore

“ Justificam nobis mentem avertêre deorum.”

Immediately

Immediately after the commencement of the war, orders from our virtuous council were issued to detain and carry all neutral vessels, whatever their loadings, into British ports. Thus if English cruizers met neutral vessels laden with grain from any ports of the Baltic or elsewhere, bound to Lisbon, Spain, or Naples, even then they were carried into English ports; and thereby our very allies ran a risk of being starved. The grain thus taken, remained near two years and longer, partly on shipboard and partly in king's warehouses; and then we were obliged, agreeably to the decree of our admiralty court, to restore ship and cargo; or if the cargo was spoiled, to pay the parties with *interest*, &c. I can state a fact relative to this subject, for the truth of which I beg leave to appeal to —— Heyman, esq. consul of the Hanse-towns, in London, and to the commercial house of the widow Soltan and co. in London. Early in the year 1793,

several

several vessels laden with corn, shipped by the house of Mathias Rodde and co. of Lubeck, by order and for account and risk of Messrs. Peters, Schlick, and co. merchants at Lisbon, were proceeding to their destined port. In the Downs they were stopped, and carried by English cruizers into some of our ports. It was near two years before this cause came on to be heard, and the result was against government; the costs of cargo and other expences were enormous. I have heard it stated from very good authority, that, in the years 1793 and 1794, the vessels and cargoes taken in the above manner, cost the government of England above 400,000*l*. The French were naturally obliged to apply to other more distant markets for grain, chiefly to America; on which occasion the same diabolic industry was used for the *pious* purpose of exciting famine among twenty-five millions of human beings. And these abominable measures were seconded by

bullying

bullying memorials from the religious regular cabinets of London, Berlin, and Peterburgh, presented at the neutral courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen *. The memorable note presented by the Swedish minister at Peterburgh, M. von Stendink, gave great umbrage to the she bear of the north ; it states “ that the duke-regent had only the interest of the king, his nephew, and his subjects, at heart ; that means will no doubt be found by the powers combined against France, to obtain their ends without infringing any existing treaty, or any attempt being made against the rights of any peaceful subjects †.”

I have above stated the bloody vengeance

* They were worthy of the heads and hearts that dictated them.—Their request was, “ that no supplies of corn, or any thing else, should be sent to a nation that had murdered their king, and trampled on all authority.” As if the merchant that exports the produce of his country, is to examine into the loyalty or politics of his customers !

† See state papers of 1793.

which

which was planned against this intelligent and just man. Even private individuals of any nation, purchasing corn to go to France, were liable to be arrested, where the agents of the crowned banditti of the continent had a controlling influence over the government.

I happened one day in the year 1793 to dine at Mr. Sieveking's, a merchant at Hamburg; four French merchants were of the party. We had just sat down to dinner, when the acting burgomaster (called the prætor) sent to Mr. S. requesting him to desire the Frenchmen at his house to quit Hamburg instantly, as he had received a requisition from the Austrian and English ministers to arrest them. Such was the infuriate rancour of the *political zelanti* of the coalition, that the Reeveite system of *espionage* was predominant in the breast of almost every Englishman on the continent. The bigots thought it would be earning a blessing from

from that Heaven they blasphemed, if they could denounce any man to the commandant of the city, even for speaking with moderation of the French. Even in the interior of Germany, the rabid fangs of English persecutors were exercised with the zeal and barbarity of the inquisition. I will introduce an anecdote of their persecuting industry and vigilance. In the year 1793, I happened to be at Leipzig, in Saxony, on private business; three respectable French merchants, and a professor of history, M. Demengen, were ordered to quit Leipzig within three days. Next was a doctor O'Keefe locked up in a dungeon for six months, and then conducted beyond the frontiers without ever being examined by a magistrate. I was marked for the next victim; but I happened fortunately to be very intimate with the baron de Bender, son of the imperial minister at Ham-
burgh, who was then at Leipzig; a circumstance the burgomasters of Leipzig happened

to be apprised of: the acting magistrate, M. Moller, therefore requested him to inform me, that the sooner I got out of Leipzig, the better.—Here I must return my thanks to that benevolent magistrate, for his kindness, as imprisonment to me, at that time, would have been particularly injurious.

I left Leipzig immediately; and on my arrival at Hambugh, wrote to my bankers at Leipzig, Messrs. Frege and co. and Küstner and co. to learn the nature of the plan against my liberty. The purport of their answer, confirmed and explained my former intelligence; they informed me “that, at the requisition of Mr. Elliott, the British envoy at Dresden, the court sent an order to Leipzig, to order my arrest, till further orders; the court at the same time alleging, that I had not transgressed against the laws of their country.” I wrote to Mr. Elliot to know his reasons,

as also to lord Grenville, but received no answer from either.

Before I close this chapter, I must notice one more public crime committed in the year 1793 against the liberty of France, and the dignity and honour of nations; I mean the taking of Toulon by the English and Spaniards. A philosophic soldier says, "treachery is more dreadful than open war, in proportion as it is more difficult to guard against clandestine plots than against an open attack. It is also more odious, because men engaged in overt hostilities, may again treat together, and come to a sincere reconciliation; whereas nobody can venture to treat with, or repose any confidence in, a man whom he has once found guilty of treachery*." That you may use all possible, if just, means to weaken your enemy, even

* Xenophon Hist. Græc. lib. cap. 3.

by artifices and stratagems, has been allowed by all publicists; but in this instance, the most unjust and unlawful means were adopted, to get possession of Toulon, not by bravery, but by means of a spy, in the uniform of a friendly state. It was, indeed, a stratagem of a novel kind, and it was likely to embroil that nation in a war, under whose cloth and commission this spy obtained admission. It is well known that when the war commenced with France, no Englishman was suffered to enter that country, but those that were there before remained unmolested. When the English fleet was cruizing off Toulon, a sea harlequin, bearing a Swedish commission, was sent there in a vessel under Swedish colours: as a *Swedish* officer, he was suffered to enter Toulon; and in that character, he tampered with the French admiral, Trogoff, and the civil power, to surrender the fleet and town to
the

the English and Spaniards; he succeeded, and the fleet and town were taken possession of in the name of Louis XVII*. The consequence was horrible: The English had possession of the town but a short time; and on their evacuation of it, thousands of people, wretches they had corrupted, flocked to the shores to get on board the departing vessels. *Some* efforts, indeed, were made to convey them on board; thousands swam to the ships, and thousands were destroyed by the disgusted Spaniards, who refused to suffer a soul to come on board their fleet. The confusion and horror of this scene, baffle description.—Great Britain, however, for all those schemes, the most unpre-

* I have it from very good authority, that the emperor Paul has demanded from the court of St. James, a sum of money, as an equivalent for the ships taken at Toulon, to bear part of the expences he is at for the maintenance of Louis XVIII. and his court at Mittau; but whether John Bull's remaining pittance has been drawn upon for that purpose, I have not learned.

cedented, indeed, in modern history; and in return for her loss of character, and the vast profusion of blood and treasure; had but three ships of the line and five frigates.

Many thousands of the wretched fugitives from Toulon were then allowed to enter our navy and army. But some few months back, there was a general order throughout the navy and army, to dismiss all Frenchmen. —What were these miserable people to do? In vain did they make protestation and complaints to our ministers!—In vain did they appeal to a tacit convention, as well as the solemn assurances of the British commanders, by whose persuasion, and the promise of British protection, they were induced to become traitors to their country!—nor were the certificates of their good conduct, while in the British service, attended to. No! these poor wretches were driven to famine and to despair. At last a body of them,

in

in the name of several thousands of their comrades and fellow-sufferers, applied to the French commissary here, to surrender themselves as *prisoners, and throw themselves on the clemency of the government of their native land*: the commissary, however, told them he could only receive into the French prison here such as the chance of war brought thither; but could not take any notice of *traitors*. He promised, however, to report their case to his government, and I have since been informed that they have had permission to return. *A dreadful lesson to all those deluded people who depend upon the British government's gratitude and generosity!*

In the year 1794, the French West-India islands were taken by our commanders, sir Charles Grey and lord St. Vincent, then sir John Jervis. The planters and merchants were there also promised British protection and generosity; but how far the

cabinet of St. James has kept its word, may be seen by a petition presented at the bar of the house of commons by Mr. Thelufson, on behalf of the unfortunate and deluded French West-Indians *.

* See Parliamentary Debates for the year 1795, June 2,

CHAP. VIII.

PAINFUL as the task is, I have next to enter on a detail from my own ocular testimony, of as black perfidy, violence, and slaughter, as perhaps ever disgraced the annals of nations, calling themselves civilized. Having been an eye witness to several of the most conflicting and bloody scenes which pen or tongue can describe, I beg leave to sketch them with all the brevity my feelings will admit of. I mean the crying wrongs of poor lacerated, dismembered Poland, marked out a prey for the two crowned eagles of the north. In a former chapter, I transiently noticed, that the empress of Russia sent 60,000 barbarians into Poland to subvert the constitution of that country, accepted by all ranks of people, and even guaranteed by Prussia. In

the year 1793, the late king of Prussia, Frederick William the Second, published a declaration respecting the march of his troops into Poland, in which he, with the most unblushing effrontery, tells the king of Poland, “that the revolution of 1791 was effected without the knowledge of the friendly powers, and that owing to the jacobinical proceedings of the *soi-disant* patriots, he must, *for his own safety*, march an army into Great Poland.” How true this declaration is, I have only to refer my readers to the collection of state papers of the year 1791, where they will see by the note and letter presented by count de Gortz, the king of Prussia’s minister at Warsaw, to the diet, and personally to the king of Poland, that his *Prussian majesty fully approved of the revolution in Poland, and guaranteed its constitution!!!*

The march of the Prussians into Poland, was marked by the capture of Dantzic and
 Thorn,

Thorn, without any pretence or provocation whatever. In Dantzic, several magistrates, who would not sign an act of renunciation, were dragged from their homes, and sent to the fortress of Spandau, where they remained a considerable time.

The Polish government, of course, protesting against such a proceeding, called upon the two imperial courts * to assist in repelling the treachery and violence of the king of Prussia. They even sent memorials to all the other courts of Europe as soon as the Prussians had entered Poland, being assured that they could *not behold with indifference a manifest violation of the rights of nations.* The Russian minister at Warsaw immediately ordered M. d'Ingelstrohm, the commander of the Russian forces in Poland, to prohibit the use of artillery to the Polish *republican* troops, which were put in motion to

* The poor Poles little knew of the treaty of Pavia.

oppose the Prussians. This began to alarm the Poles, and a note was to have been presented to M. Sievers, the Russian minister at Warsaw, remonstrating on such an unaccountable proceeding; however, before the note was presented, a manifesto appeared on the part of the pious Catharine, in which she says, that Poland has been a great trouble to her crown these thirty years past; and that she, jointly with the king of Prussia, and the emperor of Germany, hath agreed to a partition of its exterior territory, in order to keep the republic within narrow, due limits, and by that mean, keep off from their own frontiers that fatal contagion of jacobinism which reigned in Poland, and where it has been propagated by the rebels of France. The ministers of the allied robbers go further: they demand from the Polish government the appointment of a deputation to sanction the intended division of their country. After many altercations in the Polish diet,

diet,

diet, it was agreed to treat with *Russia* only. A deputation waited on the Russian minister with the result of the diet, requesting him to transmit it to Petersburg. His answer was, that his instructions were not to *treat*, but to *demand* an *immediate compliance* with his *request**; and to enforce it, he had, in their next sitting, ordered two battalions of grenadiers, with four pieces of cannon, to surround the hall. And the Russian general even entered, and declared, that no member should leave the hall, unless he signed the partition treaty †. The debate lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till three o'clock on the next morning. When they signed it, it was immediately resolved to notify to all Europe this species of national robbery and usurpation, which, by the bye, the crowned conspirators of Pavia had

* See state papers of 1793.

† The author was then in the gallery of the hall, where the diet held its sitting.

previously sanctioned: the next day four Polish members, who had been most violent in the senate, were arrested, and put into a Russian guard-house in chains.—It is impossible to relate every act of violence used by the Russians in Poland. Every man, at all acquainted with the politics of the north, must know, that Stanislaus was the favourite of Catherine, when she was grand duchess; nay some even assert that he is father to the present emperor. It is beyond all doubt that Peter III. did not long, nor indeed could he at any time, effectually cohabit with Catharine*; nay he even wanted publicly to bastardize his son, and purposed making it known to his aunt, Elizabeth, that the child was not his, but count Poniatowsky's, afterwards king of Poland, and that he had met him one evening coming out of her room, and had him seized and taken to the guard-house; that he

* See Ruhliere's Memoirs of the Revolution in Russia, -
1762.

had remonstrated with his wife about it ; but she frankly admitted it, and told him it was no more than *retaliation* ; that if he made a stir about it, he would be very sorry for it ; and that he should instantly liberate Poniatowsky, and that his conduct would be severely reprobated by every court in Europe, for violating the sacred person of an ambassador* ; but if he, Peter, acted as she would have him, she would henceforward grant a pension, out of her own private purse, to his mistress, as Peter could not afford it then, having spent all his money in his ridiculous military establishment, consisting of four regiments of Holstein troops, which he had brought with him to Russia. Such was the able and daring spirit of that extraordinary woman !

It is, therefore, very evident how the con-

* Stanislaus was at that time ambassador to the court of Russia.

nexion stood between Stanislaus and Catherine; and she gave a proof of her regard for him, by her giving him the crown of Poland, and supporting him with all her power against the confederates. It is, therefore, extraordinary that she should ultimately wish to crush him, unless she meant to conquer it for her son; who she thought, perhaps, had a right to his *father's crown*. Stanislaus shewed himself very staunch to the revolution of 1791, and why not? Did not it give him more power than he had before? According to the old constitution, every Polish nobleman was a petty sovereign; could frame any laws for his own territory, his person was inviolable, and he could afford an asylum to every person that sought it. The king was nothing more than living among a set of men who regarded him as a Russian spy; the aristocracy was always at variance with the monarchy; and when the monarch was insulted, he sent weeping messages to the court

of

of Petersburg, which was always ready to interfere for its representative or viceroy.

Here it may be asked, why did the aristocracy suffer innovations and abridgments on their authority, by the constitution of 1791? To this I reply, that the aristocrats of Poland, dreading a new partition of their country, by which means they would be entirely stripped of every vestige of power, would rather have a new-modelled constitution in their *own country*, with even encroachments on their authority; as by that means they would not only have the support of the king, but of the numerous class of the protestants or dissidents in Poland*; it would.

* By the treaty of Oliva in 1717, which was guaranteed by all the protestant powers of Europe, the dissidents, i.e. the Greeks and protestants residing in Poland, had a toleration secured to them, and were allowed free exercise of religious worships, &c. By degrees the treaty was encroached upon, and the dissidents were subject to as many vexations as in the most bigotted countries in Europe. In

1766,

would rally all those who were formerly dissatisfied with the government, by that means become able to make a powerful stand against the invaders and crowned freebooters. But although the king was favourable to the constitution of 1791; yet about the period when a final partition of his country took place, his conduct was not much approved of, and even incurred no inconsiderable degree of suspicion. Stanislaus was a king, had worn a crown thirty years, and *felt* like a king. He saw what was doing in France, and trembled at encouraging any thing like revolution, when the Russian and Prussian ministers presented that memorable

1766, the powers who had guaranteed the treaty of Oliva, made remonstrances; and after much altercation they were allowed to repair their churches, and to go to them when they pleased; and a variety of other spiritual indulgences; but still they could not purchase an inch of territory, nor be ennobled, or suffered to hold any situation either civil or military. By the revolution of 1791, they were declared free, and allowed to have the same privileges as catholics.

note to the diet, wherein they notified the intended partition.

Stanislaus immediately proposed to treat with Russia; but, although he was supported in his motion, which was carried by a small majority, those who divided with him began to suspect his integrity. Another circumstance, which occurred at the same time, strengthened such suspicion. It is with reluctance I attach obloquy to the popular character of this king; but in the year 1791, an order was established at Warsaw for the reward of those who fought for their country against the Russians, and which was, by order of the empress, suppressed, when she first subverted the government. This order was now revived, and the king expressed his disapprobation of it in very strong terms.

That there was some understanding between Stanislaus and Catharine, I shall prove

by the following anecdote which occurred in the year 1793:—The very eminent banking-house of Topper and co. at Warsaw failed. They were bankers to the court of Warsaw and Peterburgh, and were indebted about 100,000 sterling to the latter, and about 20,000*l.* to the former. Immediately on their failure, the two courts seized all the effects, and divided it between them, to the prejudice of all the other creditors. Not one penny did any other creditor receive from the estate of Topper, but the two crowned harpies.

The Russian troops in Poland were at free quarters. The haughty nobles, formerly so independent, were now so degraded and enslaved, that Russian soldiers were quartered on them. The officers using the best rooms in the house, committing every outrage on female modesty. Not a letter could be received or sent off, unless inspected by those barbarians.

Honst

Honest and virtuous Poles! I have lived much amongst you, and have been kindly treated by you; several of you know me, and were *convinced* I wished to serve you, as far as the service of an individual could go. I have been an eye-witness to your sufferings, and felt pain, because I could not alleviate them. But despair not; your oppressors may still be vanquished. Without entering into particulars so generally known, and which brought on the crisis, I have only to state, that the Poles who emigrated shortly after the new constitution was subverted, had collected themselves on the frontiers, and having formed themselves into an armed body, headed by the gallant and virtuous Kosciuszko, attacked the Prussians, defeated them, and drove them from the country which they had so unjustly taken possession of. Kosciuszko then entered Cracow: on his approach the Russians evacuated it. The brave general Madalinski, who commanded

in the south of Poland several regiments of militia, immediately commenced hostilities, with similar success, in south Prussia. And this brave man prevented the Prussians, for a considerable time, from re-entering Poland.

When the glorious insurrection of Kosciuszko and Madalinski was known at Warsaw, it caused much fomentation. I can relate, from unquestionable authority, that an incredible number of people had sworn, at the risk of every thing, to effect the deliverance of their country from Russian slavery, and were ready to act when called upon. They had not gone to bed for six months, though yet ignorant who their leaders were. Every man, nay some hundreds of women were sworn, had a musket or pistols, a pike and a long knife, all furnished at the expence of that man who had initiated the other. Every thing was now ready to purge Poland from her barbarous oppressors.

Sixteen thousand of these miscreants were in Warsaw, well disciplined, and with a formidable train of artillery, whereas the Poles had not any; it was, therefore, warm work to *kill off* so many of those savages of the human race, more furious and ferocious than the tyger. A permanent council, headed by the Russian commander, baron D'Ingelstrohm, declared Kosciuszko and Madalinski rebels; and a price was set upon their heads; and an extraordinary guard is decreed for the protection of the king's person*. The Russian minister now demanded the surrender of the arsenal, an order to search every house for arms, and the arrest of about twenty of the first people at Warsaw, suspected of *favouring the cause of their country!!* and if found guilty by a military tribunal of *his* own forming, to be punished with death! Prince Sulkowsky, the high-chancellor of Poland,

* This I was told by one of his pages, was at his own earnest request.

very much to his own honour, remonstrated against such a proceeding. Both parties seemed now to be ready to come to action. Every day brought further accounts of the rapid advance of Kosciusko towards the capital. General Worzow, with 10,000 troops, was sent from Warsaw to give him battle; but his army was defeated, himself made a prisoner, and kept as a hostage. In the morning of the 17th of April, 1794, at about two o'clock, the alarm was given; every man that had been sworn, flew to his post, A great number, from the instructions they had received, found themselves posted in such a manner that they had completely surrounded the arsenal, which was to have been taken possession of by the Russian general Bauer, who was repairing thither with about 3000 Russians; but a body of patriots was so posted, as to get in the rear and in both flanks of Bauer and his barbarians. Thus completely surrounded, he was made prisoner.

prisoner. Having been an eye-witness to the above transaction, I declare, most solemnly, that not one man of Bauer's detachment received a scratch, the business was done so completely; for *men fighting for liberty*, are not accustomed to murder their enemies in cold blood. I have thus been particular, inasmuch as it has been said that the Russians were so massacred.

Bauer being thus made prisoner, the military ambassador took the command of the cannibals, amounting to about 2000 men, who were surrounded at all points: and finding that they could force their way only by the bayonet, they wantonly and barbarously fired off their pieces into the windows. Such a proceeding naturally incensed the Poles, who made a dreadful havock among them, not above 500 found their way out of Warsaw; and I am sorry to record that the barbarian Ingelstrohm was of the number.

Thus, by a noble exertion, was a merciless enemy destroyed:—I am sorry to add, to very little purpose. About fourteen days after this period, Kosciusko made his triumphal entry into Warsaw. The permanent council was abolished, and a national council instituted in its stead; proclamations were issued to raise the people *en masse*, and manifestoes and private memorials were sent to all the courts of Europe, applying for their interference:—vain application! During the contest in Warsaw, *I was not an idle spectator*. In consequence of which, I became acquainted with Kosciusko, who introduced me to counts Ignatius Potocki, Poninski, and several other brave patriots; and in the names of those noblemen who formed the executive council of Poland, namely, general Kosciusko, counts Ignatius Potocki, and Poninski, and the chief of the civil department, Konopka; and by their authority I was desired to write to a British peer,

peer*, whose virtues and attachment to the cause of rational liberty were well known in Poland, and also to a very eloquent member of the house of commons†, requesting them to try their efforts in parliament, as well as out of doors, for the assistance of the Poles, nay the universal cause of man. They said, indeed, that they were well aware that not a spark of honour or honesty remained in the cabinet, but they wished to have the sentiments of the people. I felt a blush mount my cheek, for the degraded state of my countrymen, once the generous advocates of liberty; but now (aye even now while I am writing this) the abettors of despotism, popery, and oppression. I however obeyed the request of my truly noble friends. The patriotic peer very politely and speedily answered me, stating that “ he was a friend
 “ to the Poles, and wished well to their cause,
 “ but as this country was then in strict al-

* Earl Stanhope.

† Mr. S*****.

“ liance with Prussia, it would not be safe to
 “ introduce the cause of the Poles.” I never
 was favoured with an answer from the other.
 At this time the Prussians assembled in great
 force, and threatened Warsaw; but a very
 formidable Polish army, strongly intrenched
 in a camp before Warsaw, set defiance to the
 Prussian Cartouche. Early in July, he at-
 tempted to cannonade Warsaw, in which he
 was not successful: the cowardice and pusilla-
 nimity of the Prussians was astonishing dur-
 ing the siege. Having been intimate with one
 of the kings aide-de-camps, who sent me a
 passport, I went to the Prussian head quar-
 ters, which were more like an eastern fe-
 raglio than a military depot.

Concerts, balls, and lewd women in droves,
 swelled this motley assemblage. While I was
 at head quarters, a sortie was made very early
 in the morning. The mighty monarch had
 not time to dress or mount his horse; but with
 his

his cloak over him, and accompanied by his bed-fellow, he ran as fast as he could, obeying the wife motto, *Sauve qui il peut*.

It is therefore no wonder that an army with such a commander, could not do much against men fighting for their independence. No ! it was reserved for a more sanguinary monster, to close in characters of blood the brief history of Polish freedom ! Suwarrow, the blood-drinker of Ismael, and the amputator* of Kinburn, was appointed by his sovereign, who not only murdered her husband, but also murdered several of her favourites with her own hand, to conquer the Poles. She said to him when he took leave, “ God be

* Baron Chigandi, who had been page to the king of Poland, and afterwards aid-de-camp to Suwarrow, assured me, that at the commencement of the late Turkish war, when the Turks made an attack on Kinburn, on the Black Sea, several of them fell into his hands, upon which he ordered their arms and legs to be chopped off, and so sent them back to their countrymen, to shew what they had to expect.

with

with you, Alexander" (it is customary in Russia to call people by their christian name): "subdue Warsaw *as* you conquered Ismael." The Russian general Fersen, who was also on his route to Warsaw, endeavoured to effect a junction with Suwarrow. This junction Kosciuszko wished to prevent, and imprudently or necessarily, with a small force, quitted his intrenchments to meet Fersen: after an obstinate engagement, Kosciuszko's army, which was only 4000, against 15,000, was defeated, *every soul of them put to death*, and himself, wounded almost to death, made prisoner*. Fersen after this joined Suwarrow, who after summoning Warsaw, which had refused to surrender on the 4th of November, 1794, attacked the suburbs of that city, called Praga, and sepa-

Kosciuszko told me himself, that he was twenty-four hours on the field of battle, weltering in his blood, before he was taken up, and papers found upon him led to a discovery who he was: his treatment in confinement was extremely barbarous.

rated

rated from the city by the Vistula. Praga was defended by thirty-six batteries, mounting 130 pieces of cannon; the signal for an assault was given; thousands of Russians were forced into the ditches to fill them up, by which means, like the Mahometans assaulting Constantinople, others marched over them, and finally stormed the intrenchments.

No prisoners were made by the Russians: the slaughter was therefore immense; no less than 10,000 Polish soldiers having been butchered after they had surrendered. But here the brutal carnage did not cease: when they had slaughtered the soldiers, they began to pillage, and as bloody and deliberate murders as ever were heard of were committed: every human being in Praga, to the amount of about 15,000, including old men, women, and children, were all massacred with insatiate ferocity. Fire was set to their dwellings; and when the wretched inhabitants strove

strove to escape from the spreading flames, they were forced back by the unrelenting hand of Russian barbarity. The arms of those liveried assassins, ached at last with the slaughter; yielding to their fatigue, they consigned the others to a still more gregarious execution within the flames. I know it to be a fact, that when children came running to the doors to escape from the flames, the Russians stuck their swords in them as they would their forks in a lark, and in that bleeding, writhing state, sported them about with a ferocious joy, that would have appalled the very furies of hell. When the account of those atrocities was conveyed to Suwarrow, with a request by his aid-de-camp* to give orders to stop the carnage, he replied, "When they are tired they will give over." This then is the man or monster who has been mentioned with such respect and veneration by English-

* Whom I have already spoken of in a former page.

men; a man whose health was drank at Englishmen's tables, even in the liberal, soft hours of conviviality; a disgusting toast! no less familiar in the public theatres, which should be schools of moral sensibility and the social virtues. His name, in which are concentrated the ideas of torture, hell, and massacre, has often operated like an electrical shock upon an English audience; not, indeed, with emotions of horror; but of praise, honour, respect, and veneration! And such was the popularity of this accomplished murderer, even among our gentle, amiable countrywomen, that milliners complimented them with a hat that bore their *favourite hero's* name!

What followed the massacres of Praga, is well known: Suwarrow entered Warsaw two days after, and had a *Te deum chaunted for his success*. The king was carried off to Grodno, and obliged to abdicate his throne; while
Poland

Poland was divided by the three eagles: *thus far* was the treaty of Pavia accomplished. Thank God no other part has been, nor is likely so to be. It is hardly necessary to notice another anecdote of Suwarrow, which I heard from his murder-growling lips myself.—A Prussian colonel, von Lubtow, with whom I was intimately acquainted, rode out with me to Praga, to see the vestiges of modern Vandalism. We there saw Suwarrow on horseback, viewing the pits into which they were throwing the dead, as it was not deemed proper to throw them into the Vistula; my friend, who was acquainted with him, said, “General what are you about here?” the Anglo-Russian hero replies, with barbarous, frantic joy, “I came here to contemplate the glorious scene achieved by my brave Russians.”

Here concludes my painful recital of the horrors caused by *our regular governments*. I may say with propriety that

no

no less than 30,000 Poles were massacred in twenty-four hours; *a greater number* than even the Revolutionary Tribunal of France did *during the three years' exercise of its functions*. As Englishmen, it was our duty to have taken up the cause of the Poles. It was what my gallant friends expected from the free and generous minds of Englishmen. Alas! they erroneously judged by what our forefathers were. For Englishmen seem now so lost to every sense of patriotism and philanthropy, that they only think of god Belly, god Pitt, and god Plutus; even God Jehovah is neglected, unthought of, for this stupid polytheism of modern Britain!

Here I think it relevant to mention a circumstance that occurred on the continent, which at once betrayed the real intentions of the British cabinet. Till the period alluded to, subsidies were not thought of in the present war; a war undertaken to defend

despotism and *popery*. It was, indeed, generally supposed then that *none* of the members of the coalition, would give it up till the name of Liberty was eradicated from the minds of men; how panic-struck then must the British cabinet have been, when it heard that its faithful, sceptred, heaven-anointed ally, the late King of Prussia, was going to withdraw from the coalition; that is to say, *point d'argent, point de Prusse*. His Majesty of Prussia accordingly issued a proclamation on the 13th of March, 1794, in which he announced his secession from the confederacy, and that he had made every exertion, nay, even EXPOSED HIS SACRED PERSON, in order to check a daring enemy, which, in his opinion, was unconquerable; and that as he was not properly seconded in his efforts, he must withdraw. The cabinet of Vienna, which certainly intended in future to menace a secession from the coalition, most cheerfully co-operated in the extortion with his Majesty

jeſty of Pruſſia, and therefore Colonel Mack
 (of parole-breaking memory) was ſent hither
 to alarm the Britiſh miniſters; and the alarm
 was ſo great, that on the 16th of April, a treaty
 was ſigned at the Hague, between Great Britain
 and the States General, on the one part, and
 Pruſſia on the other, by which they agreed to
 take 62,400 Pruſſians into their pay, to be com-
 manded by a *Pruſſian officer*, for which Great
 Britain was to pay 1,200,000*l.* per annum, and
 the States General 400,000*l.* not per annum,
 but only ſo much down, and a ſolemn aſſurance
 that, for them, His Pruſſian Maſteſty might do
 what he pleaſed in Poland. This was publi-
 city enough to all Europe, that the Britiſh cabi-
 net was not only active in promoting the war
 on the continent, but that all the deſtations,
 conflagrations, and murders, and all the horrid
 conſequences of all the continental wars for a
 century paſt, are to be attributed to the *weighty*
arguments and *gilded intrigues* of a *certain*
cabinet. Peace would long ſince have been
 reſtored to the haraſſed, bleeding, deſolated

continent of Europe, were it not for the machinations of that cabinet.

It has always been observed by the French, as well as by other nations, that the conquests of Britain, have only been made by the agency of gold, and the most contemptible arts used to achieve that mercenary success. The following fact gives a specimen of modern ENGLISH BRAVERY, as also of FRENCH *Cowardice and Corruption*.

Lieutenant Colonel Whitlock besieged Port au Paix in St. Domingo, defended by General Lavaux. A letter, dated the 9th of February, 1794, is sent by the English General to the French Commandant, in which he promises him a higher rank in the new order of things, if he will surrender; and will further make him a present of 5000 crowns Tournois for his *treachery*. Thus answered the Republican General :

“ SIR,

“ SIR,

“ Permit me to complain to yourself of the
 “ indignity you have offered me in thinking me
 “ so vile, so flagitious, so base, as not to resent
 “ an offer of a sum of money. In this you have
 “ wronged yourself. I am a General ; hitherto
 “ I have been thought worthy to command
 “ an army : You have endeavoured to dis-
 “ honour me in the eyes of my comrades.
 “ This is an offence between you and me,
 “ and for which you owe me satisfaction. I
 “ demand it in the name of honour, which
 “ must exist among all nations ; therefore
 “ previous to any general action, I offer you a
 “ single combat, till either of us falls ; leav-
 “ ing to you the choice of arms, either on foot
 “ or horseback. Your quality of enemy, in
 “ the name of your nation, did not give you
 “ a right to offer me a personal insult : as a
 “ private person I ask satisfaction for an injury
 “ done me by an individual. Our two na-
 “ tions have often made war with each other,

“ but always with equal weapons : cease then
“ to attack us by tenders of money. Let us
“ be equally generous ; let us contend in
“ honourable hostility ; and let us scorn the
“ arts of seduction.”

The gallant Colonel, however, did not condescend to accept the challenge of General Lavaux, who made a brave resistance, and always retained that part of the island where he commanded.

CHAP. IX.

SHORTLY after the bloody scenes I witnessed in Poland, I left that unhappy country, with an anguish not easily described, and went to Holland, which was then menaced by the French under the command of General Pichegru; and at this period the despondency of the allies, was manifest. They were convinced that even their hordes from Croatia and Wallachia, no more than the well-disciplined, and brave army, under the command of the Duke of York *, could make any stand against the half-trained sons of freedom. The government of that country, which they wanted to dismember and destroy, was richer than united Eu-

* To the domestic virtues and personal bravery of this prince, I most cheerfully pay due acknowledgment. But, as an Englishman, he must have been out of the natural exertion of his valor, when directed against reason, justice, and freedom.

rope. About twenty millions * of gold were deposited in the coffers of the National Convention, in the mint of Paris. Thither also was conveyed all the bullion of the suppressed provincial mints, containing about three millions of pounds sterling in metal, and daily additions were thrown in by deposits, collections, and penalties. Seven-ninths of the cultivated soil of Europe belonged to the republic, together with 850,000 brave fellows, burning with zeal to fight their own and the enemies of freedom. As a counterbalance to such immense resources, one of the English secretaries of state, Lord Grenville, tells the world, that the *misery and poverty* of France were astonishing; that they have no further resources; and that he *pledged himself* (precious pawn!) that the finances of France were exhausted; and finally, that there was not a man in France fit to treat with for

* See Count de Montgaillard on the State of France, in 1794.

peace. All this he says in reply to a speech of the Marquis of Lansdowne's, one of the ablest that ever was delivered in the British Senate. This enlightened statesman knew much better what the state of France, and, indeed, that of Europe in general, was, than my Lord Grenville, or the whole cabinet put together, notwithstanding all their bribery and *espionage*. With resources of the magnitude above alluded to, and an energy that nought but the enthusiasm of liberty could inspire, it is no wonder that the French had brilliant success.

It was generally supposed that the patriotic party in Holland favoured the French cause; yet I never could perceive that they gave them any assistance. Indeed if they had, not one English or Hanoverian soldier would have returned from the crusade. Every inch of ground was disputed with the French, even after they had crossed the Waal, and
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got to Nimeguen, and even to Utrecht, which is only twenty-seven English miles from the Hague, the then seat of government, and residence of the Prince of Orange, and only thirty-six English miles from Amsterdam. Even then there was not the least symptom of revolt among them, not even among the well-known patriots. The French army were two days in Utrecht before the Prince went away; and how did he go? not clandestinely, but publicly in the open day, with several carriages full of effects. I was at the Hague when he was departing for Scheveling, about three English miles from the Hague, to take shipping for England. I was just then riding on that road with Mr. Caspar Meyer, since Batavian minister at Paris, when that gentleman said to me, “ You see, my friend, what
 “ imperfect ideas people have of the Dutch
 “ patriots. The Prince, whom they ought
 “ to keep as an hostage against the attacks
 “ on our country by the English, they suffer to
 “ escape;

“ escape ; not a soul about to molest him : nay,
 “ I am surpris'd the Oranje Klanten * don't
 “ rise and destroy the patriots.” Nay more !
 when the French army entered Holland, they
 did not even change the burgo-masters of any
 of the towns, or change the government, for
 a considerable time after. One of the burgo-
 masters of Amsterdam waited on the French
 general, and offered to resign, which the
 French general objected to, saying, “ We do
 “ not mean to interfere with the govern-
 “ ment, unless the Dutch do it themselves.”

A circumstance that occurred at Amsterdam,
 when the French were at Nimeguen (only
 forty English miles from the former city) de-
 serves notice, as it shews that the patriots had
 no energy whatever, and that the Orange

* *Oranje Klanten*, signifying, in the Dutch Language,
Orange Customers, or customers to the Orange-man ; a
 nick-name given to the Orange Party.

party

party were convinced of their own strength, and the imbecility of their adversaries. When the bank of Amsterdam was established, a law was enacted, that the bank should not advance money to the government or to the East-India Company, either upon their bonds or notes; but that the specie should always remain *bonâ-fide* in the bank, and any individual holding money there, might at any time have access to the treasury and the books. At the approach of the French, the persons who had money in the bank, naturally became alarmed, and a meeting was called, at which were present the principal merchants and bankers of that city, when it was agreed that four eminent merchants, *viz.* Messrs. de Bruyn and Pontoi; Couderc and Company; De Witt and Company; and Braunsberg and Company; attended by a professional man, M. Van Staphorst, should wait on the bank directors, and examine the books. When they arrived

arrived at the Städt Huis *, they made known their business. The burgomaster desired them to wait a few moments, and he would satisfy them. Upon this he withdrew, returned shortly after, and led them to the window, whence he shewed them a squadron of horse, with four field-pieces with lighted matches, and said, *that is the answer*. I appeal to any Dutchman in this country for the truth of this anecdote.

When there was a report that the *English* troops, which had been hunted (*chassée*) all through Flanders and Holland, were to be quartered at Amsterdam, the burghers unanimously, Orangists as well as Patriots, presented a petition against such a measure. The two persons who presented it, M. Van Stap-horst, above alluded to, and a M. Visser, were put into close confinement, and not liberated

* The town-house, the bank, and the prison for debtors and criminals, are all in the same building.

until the French entered Amsterdam *. Does this prove that the Dutch co-operated with the French? or that they entered Holland by their own bravery and courage, and by hard fighting?

Here it may not be improper to notice, that such was the *cordial co-operation* and *unanimity* among the regular governments in “the good cause,” that Austria would not send any troops to the assistance of her English allies for the defence of Holland, unless paid for it. Accordingly sixteen thousand Austrian troops were purchased for the purpose, with the property of that *liberal personage*, Mr. John Bull.

Having clearly shewn *how* the French entered Holland, and the temper of its inhabitants, it is inconceivable why the British

* The magistrates apologized for their conduct afterwards, by saying, that it was at the request of the English ministers—not unlikely.

cabinet, without waiting to see what the Dutch meant to do, or because the Prince of Orange took it into his head to run away from his office and country, should have proceeded to plunder and hostility against the people of Holland, where great numbers were attached to the fugitive Prince. The very moment he arrived in England, orders were sent to Plymouth to seize two Dutch sixty-fours, two frigates, two sloops, nine richly laden East-India ships, and about seventy sail of other vessels; letters of marque were also given against all Dutch vessels, and even neutral vessels bound to any Dutch port with naval stores or *provisions*; and all these acts of hostility, without a formal declaration of war *. This was strictly *à la Russe*, or the Russian has rather acted *à l'Anglaise*.

* In all wars a formal declaration is required: if not done, it is unjust, and contrary to the laws of nations.—Grotius *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, lib. cap. 111. § 4.

A publiciste *, often before quoted, says, “ A Sovereign (or in such a constitution as our’s, his Ministers) ought, in all their quarrels, to entertain a sincere desire of rendering justice and preserving peace. They are bound before they take up arms, and also after having taken them up, to offer equitable conditions, and then alone are they justifiable in appealing to the sword against an enemy who refuses to listen to the voice of justice.” Has this ever been done by the British cabinet, except when it served their purpose to send ministers to act as spies? Then indeed they were ready to give every act of their’s the air of moderation and concession. Were not the Dutch actually and evidently sacrificed to the pride, avarice, and ambition of that cabinet? We wished to defend them, and did so, as long as we could; and the Dutch in *every respect*, as I have already shewn, co-operated with us,

* Vattel’s Law of Nations, p. 281.

and not with the French *. What do the injured, patient Dutch on this occasion? They respectfully send two commissioners to London, Messrs. Vitriarius and Pasteur †, not only to claim their property, but also to express their earnest desire to remain in profound peace and amity with this country; and also to state, with veracity, that the French had declared the United Provinces to be independent, and exclusively subject to their own laws; and that there was not a word in the treaty, just then concluded between the two Republics, of the most distant tendency to prevent the

* I have heard from an unquestionable authority, that had the Prince remained at his post, and himself concluded a peace with the French, he might have remained in Holland to this day; the French only wished him to break off the connection with England: but the fact was, the English *would not suffer him to do it*; they were the masters of Holland.

† I appeal to the respectable mercantile house of Mr. Van Dyk, of this town, and to him especially, as the Dutch consul, for the truth of the above statement.

continuance or establishment of peace and harmony between Great Britain and Holland. But their candour, truth, and humility, were of no avail. The two commissioners were indignantly treated, and had just cause to tell their countrymen that it would not avail to *attempt* to negotiate with England. Can any thing justify such criminal and impolitic conduct in our councils?

It would seem, that when Vattel wrote his Laws of Nations, he had some prophetic anticipation of the violent and vicious principles which should govern the British cabinet in the present wild and wicked war. Every measure *he* condemns, seems absolutely to have been adopted by that cabinet; yet, like a devout strumpet, they incessantly mouth forth the *laws of nations*, the *rights of nations*, the *good order* and *religion of nations*. But let us try them by their own appeal, and state a few facts which I believe are not *agreeable* to
the

the laws of nations, and not provided against by the wisdom of any publicist.

Immediately on the arrival of the Stadtholder in England, the British cabinet *made* him sign an order to the respective governors, civil and military, of the Dutch colonies, to surrender to the British arms. This order was couched in terms as if they were to be ceded by virtue of a new treaty. The commanders of those colonies, accustomed to the signature of the Stadtholder, little suspecting that the Prince was at *Kew*, and *not at the Hague*, instantly obeyed his orders. By *such* means did the *regular government* of Great Britain, get hold of St. Eustatius and other islands.

Let us now, for a moment, turn from the unjustifiable to the justifiable means adopted by the same cabinet to weaken an enemy; I mean transciently to advert to its conduct re-

specting the expedition to Quiberon. Civil war had too long raged in that unhappy province of France, called La Vendée. And after war was declared between France and England, the most extraordinary means were taken to aid its progress. When the expedition for Quiberon was fitting out, French priests were ordered to go to the prisons at Plymouth and Portsmouth to persuade the Frenchmen confined there to enter into the English navy and army destined to act against their native country. The priests were not much attended to. What was next to be done? Their usual allowance of provisions was stopped; and nothing but bread and water, and of that not enough, became the only food of those honest unfortunate men; but even such unprecedented cruelty did not make the honest Republicans forget the duty they owed to their country. French emigrant officers were sent to inform them, that if they did not immediately enlist in the British service, they would be sent to
some

some of our colonies, and sold as slaves. Such means were never before heard of in any Christian nation, and it is devoutly to be wished there never more may. In every point the British cabinet seems resolved to violate the laws of nations. No government has a right to compel foreigners, much less prisoners of war, to enlist in their service *, and more especially to fight against their native country. It must not even employ stratagem or artifice in order to induce them to it; however, this double violation took place. But mark the just consequence of it! *Those very men* were, as might have been expected, the *cause* of the failure and destruction of the memorable Quiberon army!

Another crime was committed by that same cabinet against the laws of nations, which is not to be met with in history, ancient or modern. An artist was employed to manu-

* See Vattel and Grotius.

facture French assignats : a whole cargo accompanied that justly unfortunate expedition. A great many bundles of them were sent on shore, but seized by the French General, Hoche. The greatest part, however, returned ; and some time after I happened to be at Falmouth, and saw those forged assignats lying on the beach, and the soldiers employed in making musket cartridges of them. I appeal to any resident of Falmouth for the truth of this statement.—A singular trial took place at Guildhall, London *, relative to this affair ; and the Judge says, “ *it is not contrary to the laws of nations.*” I should like to know how his Lordship’s † library is supplied with treatises of that nature ? If he has any, they must be in Welch. And *Cymbrian* publicism must be about as wild and equitable as the bearded inhabitants of Snow-

* See Appendix, E.

† It is but justice to observe, that the noble Judge here alluded to, has invariably acquitted himself, in *civil* cases, with a candour and public spirit that would have done honour to a *Holt* or a *Somers*.

don. But I would recommend Vattel *, and the example of the French, to his learned adoption. The French, when they entered an enemy's country sword in hand, honourably paid for every thing they had—not in assignats, but in hard specie. Let the members of *all sorts and sizes of cabinets* learn integrity and social justice from those men. They will then profit extensively by the principles of a nation they have so long laboured to dismember or annihilate. *Fas est et abboſte doceri.*

As a fair contrast to the ſhuffling, juggling conduct of “regular governments,” I ſhall next exhibit true Republican greatneſs, wiſdom, and candour in negotiation,

* If one nation counterfeits the money of another, or if ſhe allows and protects falſe coiners, ſhe acts hoſtile to all uſages and cuſtoms. Vattel's Laws of Nations, p. 47, § 108. And though the laws of England have never regarded bank-notes, or any other paper currency, as money, until the Bank of Pitt and Co. in Threadneedle-ſtreet, ran dry ; yet publiciſts regard, as ſuch, any medium of public, accredited interchange or traffic.

CHAP. X.

IT has always been said by the British cabinet, that in all France there was not a man to treat with; such has been the language from 1792, to the present year of 1800, and probably longer. The Executive Council, the Committee of Public Safety, the Executive Directory, and the Consulate, have all and each of them been not only able to conclude a peace, but were always desirous of it; frankness, candour, and moderation (*considering existing circumstances*) to their vanquished enemies, appeared in all the negotiations of Republican France. But their moderation is not in their speeches; it is in their actions.

It is well known that the campaign of 1795 commenced most disastrously for the barbarous league.

The

The Austrian and Prussian armies almost disbanded; the Anglo-Hanoverians running in all directions before a victorious foe; thousands perishing by hunger and frost; Holland conquered by the French; the capital of Spain threatened by the victorious Republicans; the best part of the German dominions on the Rhine, in their possession. Yet notwithstanding all these advantages, they had no objection to listen to peace with Spain and Prussia, and that at the very time the French, in possession of Westphalia and Holland, might have taken Hanover, Embden, Bremen, Brunswick, all Saxony, and even march to Berlin: there was not a strong place to impede them. But notwithstanding all their provocations, their prejudices, and advantages, they made peace with all these powers, and would, if possible, with all the other powers at war with them. Had the allies, those sceptred champions of good order and the meek doctrines of Jesus, been equally successful, would they have done
the

the same? Well and painfully convinced of their inexorable malice, the French Republic hesitated not to grant peace, even to the Elector of Hanover, whose cabinet, in another country, has long proved the implacable foe of France in her freedom, her prosperity, and even in her existence.

With Spain the French acted with a liberality that marked their love of justice, and their love of peace. For the expence of a two years' unprovoked war, France acquired, by way of restitution, only a part of St. Domingo.

A very singular circumstance occurred at Basle, during the negociations for peace, which were commenced on the part of Prussia by Baron Goltz: this nobleman died suddenly; and his physicians, after opening his body, publicly declared that he had been poisoned. During the bustle attending his sudden and
 alarming

alarming illness, he was robbed, *not of his*
massy valuables, BUT OF HIS PORT-
 FEUILLE, WHICH CONTAINED ALL
 HIS PAPERS!!!—and it was well known
 that this was managed by the adroitness of
 a certain automaton, *then disgracing the*
sacred character of a diplomatist! The sub-
 stance of the Baron's state-papers somehow
 found its way to our cabinet. Thereby in-
 formed of the intention of the crusaders of
 the Continent, to relinquish “the good cause,”
 they immediately addressed their golden argu-
 ments to the exhausted Emperor. They were
 weighty. But had Francis been less open to
 conviction, they would have been trebled.
 Our ministry alarmed, lest the game of blood,
 should soon subside, granted him £4,600,000.
 Had it been four times as much, they would
 have cheerfully given it. For this the war-
 breathing John Bull was told he would be
 paid interest. Now, good Mr. Bull, do you
 suppose that our immaculate cabinet did not
 know

know that it was not a loan, but actually a subsidy. If our Imperial ally is such a swindler, why trust him again? But the fact is, that the ministers, though they had so often before made you believe and swear that black was white, they for once were not impudent enough to tell you that so much money was sent out of the country as a subsidy. But now, dull dupe, how is it? You are taxed to pay interest to the holders of the Imperial loan; and the little Bulls unborn are doomed to pay it. But if you have found money as your *warm* friend, Mr. Windham says, you have had money's worth from the Emperor. He has, indeed, with bloody good faith, furnished 200,000 cut-throat barbarians to supply something for the newspapers to please you, to make your toast go down the better of a morning, and your new-fangled porter of the evening.

At this time also the King of Sardinia, made
peace

peace with France, although it was in the power of Bonaparte, then under the walls of Turin, to lessen the number of those continental crowned free-booters. The vulture was suffered to remain in his nest; a kindness afterwards repaid with a perfidy peculiar to the gang.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany also made peace with France. And soon after these negative events, our quondam most faithful and catholic ally of Spain, declared war against this country. And in the declaration it is very obvious what principle my crowned heroes of the continent, acted upon: it says, “ That the
 “ bad faith of England, during the whole
 “ of the war, was manifest, and induced him
 “ to make peace with the French Republic:
 “ The bad faith which he experienced at
 “ Toulon, by Lord Hood’s manner of treat-
 “ ing his squadron, where he was employed
 “ in ruining all that he could not carry
 “ away,

“ away, and would not let his squadron take
 “ a single boat.”

There was the rub. The British manifesto, in answer to this charge, says, “ To an accusation of such a nature, alleged as a ground of war between two great nations, it can hardly be expected that a serious answer should be given.”—A fair and reasonable way, no doubt; my Lord Grenville, of answering to a charge of swindling.

In the course of the year 1796, a prelude and a comedy, and in the next year a farce, all by the same author, were exhibited at Basle, Lisle, and Paris: the performers, Lord Malmesbury, Lord Gower, and Mr. Wickham.—The French were invited to act a part in it.

I hope my Readers will not think I treat this subject too ludicrously; but it is really astonishing how any person, at this period, will
 take

take the trouble of reasoning upon the subject, when Mr. Pitt, the acting manager, positively says, “ That he is happy the negociation with “ France, had failed.” He knew perfectly well that it would fail. During the diplomatic farce at Lisle, one of the actors bribed Perlet editor of a Journal of that name ; he received 2000 Louis-d’ors, and engaged, on the word of a venal traitor, to write against the Directory. But on the 18th Fructidor he was sent to Cayenne ; but since returned, by permission of the Consulate, and was shipwrecked on the coast of England, as if he were doomed to owe all his misfortunes to this country. At the time the Sardinian, Tuscan, and Papal Envoys were at Paris, to settle a definitive treaty of peace, accounts were received that the French army in Italy received some slight checks, the consequence of which was, that the Envoys abovenamed refused to sign the treaty. They were, of course, ordered to leave Paris immediately, so
averse

averse were those regular worthies to restore tranquillity to their distressed subjects—as a gleam of hope still remained of exterminating liberty. But it has since proved an *ignis fatuus*; for the time was approaching when that great man, BONAPARTE, whose shining qualities in the field, and boundless talents in the cabinet; whose moderation and generosity in victory, stand unparalleled in the page of history; should hold the helm of the French Republic; convince all the world of the goodness of his motives, and how much more candid and desirous the Republicans have always been to stop the effusion of human blood, than the pious and regular governments of Europe. In the midst of his astonishing career of victory, when even the Austrian government itself was threatened with annihilation, the hero of Lodi addressed a Letter * to his adversary, the Archduke, replete with moderation and philanthropy, offering him peace. The Arch-

* Appendix F.

duke's answer was, " That he can't enter
 " into any discussion on the principles of
 " the war, nor was he authorized to treat."

A mild and moderate answer might have stopped the further effusion of human blood; but he still flattered himself that the army in Germany, might still make some diversion in his favour. However, in a very short time after (I believe in forty-eight hours) he received advice that the French, under the command of General Hoche, had obtained a considerable and decisive victory. Upon this strong piece of intelligence, the gentle prototype of Suwarrow *, solicited a suspension of arms for FOUR HOURS!! Bonaparte, fully comprehending the drift of this petty, transparent juggle (it being the Archduke's intention to effect a junction with General Spork, whom he expected with a re-inforcement) declined it. He then solicit-

* No praise, no flattery, can ever wash away from this Prince's fame or conscience, the blood of the two murdered French deputies.

ed a cessation of arms for forty-eight hours, which brought on the negociation for the preliminaries of peace, concluded at Leoben *, April 18, 1797. When this intelligence arrived at the Luxemburg, some of the members of the Directory, were much dissatisfied at Bonaparte's treating with the Emperor † at a time when he had it in his power to annihilate the House of Austria. Yet they, as *Republicans*, considered themselves bound to ratify the engagements of their General. But had Bonaparte then struck the blow against the *Baker's oven*, John Bull would not since have had to pay for the *jest and fuel*.

I have now to take a view of Portugal, *which is very little better than a colony of Great Britain*. Being acquainted with Lisbon, and some of its worthiest inhabitants, I have come to the knowledge of some

* Only thirty hours' march from the Imperial den of iniquity.

† See Carnot's pamphlet in reply to Bailleul.

of the intrigues of that imbecile government. In the year 1797, the Chevalier D'Aranjo, formerly Portuguese envoy at Paris, but since the war resident in that city, as a private gentleman, with full powers sent him for the purpose, by his government, concluded a treaty of peace with the French Executive Directory: The conditions were moderate; Portugal was to pay to France 200,000*l.* sterling, to receive in her ports six ships of the line only, from each belligerent power, and to put France on a footing with the most friendly nations *. When the treaty was sent to Lisbon to be ratified, it threw the cabinet into a great consternation; and here it will be proper to notice, that the

* It is very extraordinary, that during this very war between Portugal and France, French ribbons, laces, silks, and all sorts of bijouterie, were regularly received in Portugal from France in neutral vessels, and regularly entered at the Custom-house; when the very same kind of goods, of British manufacture, are *strictly prohibited*. This is a strong proof of the inattention of our ministers to the commerce of Great Britain.

cabinet of Portugal is divided into two parties, *viz.*

DUKE D'ALFOENS, Generalissimo of the Portuguese army, and uncle to the Queen, an enlightened intelligent nobleman ;

M. DE SEEABRA, Secretary of State for the Home Department, a man of great talents ;

COUNT DE POMBEIRA, High Chancellor of Portugal, a very accomplished intelligent gentleman ;

are of the party inclined to peace.

MARQUIS DE PONTE DA LIMAS, Premier (an old woman) ;

LEWIS PINTO, Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, formerly ambassador to the Court of St. James, a shrewd man ; and

DE SOUZA, Minister of Marine, a very sensible man ;

are of the English party, and consequently for war.

To which party may be added the Prince Regent, now the sovereign of Portugal. The cabinet being thus divided, the friends of peace, were for the immediate ratification of the treaty. The English party objected to this, saying, that they could not ratify the treaty without the concurrence of the Court of St. James, and that they would send to their ambassador in London, Chevalier D'Almeida (a creature of that cabinet which prodigally shares poor John Bull's purse among diplomatic adventurers, spies, &c.) instructions to *obtain the permission of the Court of St. James, to ratify the treaty recently concluded with France* *. But this was objected to by the opposite party, who were of opinion that it was necessary for a

* The cosmopolite must regret to see the once valiant and brave Portuguese so enslaved to a nation that owes its wealth to the splendid achievements of a Gama and an Albuquerque. Their conquests in India, paved the way for all Europeans to accumulate wealth and guilt; and, not improbably, prevented Europe's becoming a prey to Mussulmans and other fanatics of the East.

person to go to England with extraordinary powers on account of the critical situation of Portugal ; and an envoy who does not intend to *remain* in the country where he is sent to, is always supposed to speak more to the purpose. These arguments had due weight ; and accordingly the High Chancellor, Conte de Pombeira, a friend to peace, was the person appointed to proceed immediately to London for that purpose. The Phœnix, a Portuguese frigate, was got ready to carry him over. But when the Captain of the frigate went to receive his instructions from the minister of marine (who was hostile to the purpose of Count de Pombeira's embassy), he said, " Signior, I expect you'll be *two months* on your passage to Falmouth *." The reason of
this

* A short time after the Count de Pombeira's departure, Madame Pinto (the lady of the Secretary of State) said at one of her public dinners, that the Count de Pombeira would be too long going to England to settle the business ; and if any of my readers will take the trouble of referring

this manœuvre is plain ; forty days being only allowed for the ratification of the treaty, it was represented to the Prince Regent, by the English faction, that as the Count de Pombeira *might probably have a long passage*, it would be prudent to send similar powers to their ambaffador in London, especially as the packets go so very quick *. Chevalier d'Almeida, who had received his instructions at least fix weeks before Count de Pombeira arrived in England, did not wait for his arrival, but arranged matters with our cabinet to such purpose, that a courier was dispatched to Lisbon, signifying that the court of St. James, would not agree to the ratification of the treaty. And this intelligence ar-

referring to the newspapers of the year 1797, they will see that there was a report of the Portuguese ambaffador's being lost, as he was not heard of for so long a time.

* It was not thought proper to send the Count de Pombeira by a packet for fear of being captured; but going in a frigate as a cartel, he was under no apprehension.

rived at Lisbon before the Count de Pombeira arrived in London. On his arrival he was not a little astonished to hear what was done. He waited on Lord Grenville, who treated him very cavalierly, saying, that there was no necessity for entering into *unnecessary discussion*, as the BUSINESS was settled with Chevalier d'Almeida, and the same frigate which brought the Count to England conducted him back to Lisbon: at the same time a new treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Portugal; Great Britain paying a sum of money to enable Portugal to carry on the war; and engaging to send a sufficient number of troops to defend that country. When the news arrived at Lisbon, it was received by the public there with great indignation. The English party in the cabinet, wrote to Count d'Aranjo at Paris saying that the sum of money received from England, they would willingly give to the Directory to appease their vengeance. Chevalier d'Aranjo, really a good
but

but a weak man, instead of rejecting the proposal from his degenerate court with due indignation, *foolishly* employed a young man of the name of *Poppe*, a merchant from Lisbon then at Paris (son to the Hamburgh consul at Lisbon) to carry this message to the Directory. The consequence was, the Portuguese minister was arrested (conformable to the laws of nations) and the treaty broken off. I appeal to the whole cabinet of Lisbon, as well as to the Portuguese minister in London, for the truth of this statement.

At this period also a transaction occurred at Lisbon which will reflect eternal disgrace on the parties concerned.

Count Zenobio, who is well known in Europe for his attachment to the cause of reason and of liberty, applied, when he was in Germany, to the British cabinet for permission to land at Yarmouth to proceed to Fal-
mouth,

mouth, and there to embark for Lisbon, where he intended to make some stay for the benefit of his lady's health. This request was readily granted. But on his arrival at Lisbon, he was, at the *request of the British minister*, arrested, with his lady, his lovely daughters, and family, conveyed *separately* to subterraneous dungeons, where they remained near two months, deprived of day-light and every convenience of life. At the interposition of the Imperial minister, he was released from Anglo-Lusitanian captivity*; but how? he and his family were conveyed on board an English transport, to the care of *an admiral* then on the Gibraltar station, *who sent them all in an open boat* to the coast of Barbary, where they were put on shore without money, without a change of clothes, and with-

* Count Zenobio being a Venetian, and having an immense landed property in that country, and Venice being then under Austrian dominion, the Austrian minister at Lisbon claimed him as an Austrian subject.

out any letters or passports. The consequence was, that they were immediately made prisoners, and sent to Mogadore, where they would have been sold as slaves, had not the Venetian consul, who knew the count, claimed and protected him and his family. Can any man or woman read this anecdote without shuddering at the barbarity of this diabolical conspiracy against the lives of this worthy man, his countess, and their beautiful, accomplished, and virtuous daughters? How, *gallant* admiral! with this deed accursed full in thy face, couldst thou return to thy indignant countrymen with such tarnished laurels?

Another circumstance occurred at Lisbon during my stay there, which shews the HONEST views of the agents of regular governments. When the news first arrived at Lisbon, of the French being in possession of Holland, there were six richly laden Dutch East Indiamen

diamen put in there by stress of weather. The captain wished to depart for his country, but was not permitted. They have since been sold, but the Dutch government never received a farthing of it. The commodore of these ships is there to this day. Two Dutch commissioners arrived there shortly after to claim them. The commodore says, certain diplomatic agents *received the money*. M. Gildemeester, the Dutch consul at Lisbon, who is now in England, I believe, knows this to be a fact.

So much for Portugal.

Preliminaries of peace having, as before noticed, been signed between France and Austria; in the course of a few months after, it was definitively settled by the title of the Peace of Campo Formio: the affairs of the empire to be settled by a congress to be held at Rastadt. Thus ended for the present the crusade undertaken

taken for the purpose of exterminating opinions founded on the purest principles of philosophy. But, alas! the fond hopes arising from this event were but illusionary! for in a very short time after peace was signed, General Bernadotte was appointed minister of the French republic to the court of Vienna. But on his arrival there, he found it difficult to procure lodgings, every inn-keeper and hotel-keeper, was intimidated by the hirelings of the Austrian and Russian ministers. It was therefore with considerable difficulty, he procured an hotel *unfurnished*, at the enormous sum of 20,000 livres! near 1000 *l.* sterling *per annum*. Nor, as circumstances operated, was this exorbitant; for the landlord, from whom he hired the house, said he received a douceur of 500 florins not to let him his house, to which we may add the calculation to be made on the moral certainty of having his house demolished, if the French ambassador lived

lived in it; as the pensioned populace would be much incensed at seeing a French minister at Vienna. M. Bernadotte not having the arms for his hotel finished, had the republican colours hoisted. This was too favourable an opportunity for the agents of the common disturbers of Europe, to let slip. Accordingly the mob were directed to assail the windows, and commit all other acts of violence against persons going into or coming out from it. Six hours the mob were rioting and vociferating *Es lebe der Konig von Engelland, es lebe der Kaiser* *. Thus do we frequently see mobs, the terror of kings, occasionally become their useful allies. Message after message was sent to Baron Thugut†, who did not deign to attend to them. At length the mob, too pusillanimous to do farther mischief, retired;

* Long live the king of England and the Emperor.

† *Thugut*, literally is, *do good*; an extraordinary name for a man who will sacrifice the interests of his country, to gratify the ambition of a foreign power.

and Bernadotte very properly applied for passports to quit Vienna, which he did next day. Thugut was dismissed for a short time to appease the wrath of the French. Thus we see every diabolical mean used to keep up the ferment by the agents of regular religious governments.

CHAP. XI.

LET us now take a peep into the Vatican, and see how its heaven-officed master was, in the mean while, employed. We left him, in the year 1793, sending forth all his *sacred* curses against the French, which were, however, not attended with half so much effect as the sabre of a Hulan.

Early in 1794, when the Emperor went to Flanders, to place himself at the head of the army, Pius sent him a golden medal, representing St. Peter and St. Paul, inclosed in a relique case: "Fight," said he to him, in a letter which accompanied the present, "fight in the name of those two valiant soldiers of Christ." Every act of this mitred hypocrite was fraught with increasing virulence against the French. However, when Bonaparte threatened the Papal territories with

with invasion, his Holiness was alarmed *, sent commissioners to treat for an armistice, and sent an envoy to sign a definitive treaty of peace. But even while the armistice was negotiating, the Priests opened to their flocks the treasures of celestial liberality ; promised *forty thousand years of indulgence* to him that should *kill a Frenchman*.

But immediately after the armistice was signed, by virtue of which *His Holiness* was to pay a very large sum of money ; to raise it, he was obliged to tax his people ; and the very same means that were used to inflame the bigotted Romans to assassinate Frenchmen, were now exerted in their favour.

* The Pope issued a proclamation at that time, which shews the spirit of the vicegerant of Christ. “ To all our
 “ dearly beloved Catholic sons, brethren in Jesus Christ !
 “ We pray you for the good of Christianity and of his
 “ Holiness, to take up arms in defence of religion. Who-
 “ ever shall *kill a Frenchman* will perform a *sacrifice ac-*
 “ *ceptable to God* : their name shall be inscribed among
 “ the names of the elect of the Lord.”

Thanksgivings and proclamations were made, wherein it was said, that the Virgin Mary interfered. The madonnas of Rome were said to have opened, rolled, and shut their faintly eyes. Nay, some of the withered flowers that adorned those wooden saints and virgins, recovered their bloom, and dry branches their verdure, while the believing multitudes flocked in crowds to the miraculous sight.

Citizen Miot arrived at Rome shortly after the signing of the armistice. But the French armies having, about that time, received a slight check near Mantua, orders were sent immediately to Pezzack, the Pope's envoy at Paris, to delay the signing of the definitive treaty, till further orders. Miot, with four commissioners, were insulted by the populace, and one of them murdered. They were led on by Priests, calling out, "Kill them; they are Frenchmen."

On learning from France that his Holiness's agent was sent away, the Vatican became alarmed. Bonaparte was again ready to enter the Papal territories. And several letters, intercepted by Bonaparte, amongst which was one wrote by the Pope's prime-minister, Cardinal B——, to the Pope's nuncio at Vienna, at once shewed the real sentiments and murderous perfidy of the Vatican. It says, "So long as I am allowed to hope for assistance from the Emperor, and Naples, I will temporize with respect to the propositions of peace made to us by the French." And then entering on a speculation relative to the interior state of France, it adds, "The means of exciting a civil war in France ought never to be lost sight of, without too deeply implicating the Holy See."

Shortly after the arrival of Bonaparte in the Ecclesiastical States, four commissioners from the Pope arrived at head-quarters, and

signed a peace on no worse terms than the former. What a contrast between the philosopher and hero, and the pretended grand-vicar of Jesus !

The period now approached when Pius was to meet his richly deserved fate—a fate brought on by his own villainy. Although the majority of the people of Rome, were prejudiced and hostile against the French, at the commencement of the war ; yet after they durst candidly examine the shuffling chicanery of the Vatican ; and its sanguinary policy, under the mask of religion, they began to be disgusted, while, on the contrary, they marked, with admiration, the exalted virtues of a people they had been in the constant habit of reviling. But they particularly felt the moderate and magnanimous conduct in the late negotiations with the Pope : It therefore could not fail to excite their indignation against the government. Discontents arose even during
the

the negociation of the first armistice. Placards were stuck up, calling the people to rise. The Pope and his nephew were lampooned; the Car-magnole and Cà ira sang about the streets; on the gates of the houses of the nobles, were inscribed, * *Arrendetevi tiranni; O morte, O libertà.*

The Jews, who are very numerous at Rome, where they are treated with a cruelty at which nature revolts, no doubt considered the principle of the French Revolution, as a divine, though tardy, mandate † in their own favour.

* *Submit, ye tyrants! Death or liberty.*

† In Rome, the seat of Christian piety, the Jews are treated with an unequalled severity, cooped up in a district of their own, locked up at night, not even suffered to be seen in the streets during divine service, and are obliged to fly when the Host is paraded about the streets, or to prostrate themselves to the puppet, and join in their idolatrous customs; and in order that these unfortunate men may never escape indignity, they are obliged to wear a yellow badge on their shoulders, to distinguish them from other men.

During this fermentation, Joseph Bonaparte arrives at Rome, as minister from France.

But insurrections in favour of rational freedom, are not brought about in a day. It is by degrees that the people approach the trying period. Those that for many centuries, felt the pain, now feel the disgrace of their fetters: But the lively citizens of modern Rome, anticipated the regular progress of revolt: they and the Papal soldiery came to blows; the insurgents were dispersed; they fled to the French ambassador's district as an asylum, not as their head-quarters *. The Papal soldiery followed (and made a spot, so long held sacred by the benign compact of nations) the horrid scene of unequal battle †.

Common humanity, as well as a regard for

* See Memoirs of Pius VI. Vol. II. p. 327.

† When thieves and murderers take refuge in an ambassador's district, they are inviolable: Why then should the insurgents have been massacred in the hall of the ambassador's hotel?

national dignity, required that the ambassador and his suite should endeavour to put a stop to such an unprecedented infraction of their rights. General Dupont rushed forward to expostulate with the commanding-officer: but he was instantly murdered by, perhaps, fifty blows of a sabre. Chevalier D'Azzara, the Spanish minister, and the Tuscan minister, Chevalier Angeolem, were eye-witnesses to this horrid transaction. The former flew to the Vatican; the Pope pretended illness; the Secretary of State said he was ignorant of what happened, although the insurrection had already lasted eight hours. Even after this barbarous transaction was related to the Roman government, it was some hours before they deigned to send orders to their liveried assassins to cease the work of murder. What followed is well known. General Berthier was ordered to march with his army directly to Rome, to subvert that odious and inveterate usurpa-

tion. In its imperfect downfall, every philanthropist must have rejoiced.

About this time, the expedition to Egypt, under the command of Bonaparte, was undertaken; and as several erroneous accounts have appeared relative to the grounds and nature of this expedition, I shall relate what came to my knowledge, relative to this important matter. My information I owe to a celebrated diplomatic character on the Continent, whose name, in some future publication, I may be at liberty to mention. It is well known to my Readers, that the Ottoman government has not, for ages, derived any other advantage from Egypt, than the precarious payment of a certain yearly sum from the refractory Beys of that miserable, though fertile, country. When General Aubert Dubayet arrived at Constantinople as French ambassador, he concluded a secret treaty with the Grand Vizir, which

which was originally planned and arranged between the Directory, General Bonaparte, and the Ottoman minister, at Paris; whereby it was agreed that the French should be allowed to take peaceable possession of Egypt, and regularly pay the same stated contributions to the Porte that the Beys had long neglected to do: the Porte still reserving the same commercial advantages as before. When the French arrived in Egypt, Bonaparte, in a proclamation, tells the Egyptians, "That he came there with the privity of the Grand Signor (*and that was strictly true*)."

But as soon as the object of the French expedition, was known at Constantinople, the Russian and English ministers demand immediately of the Porte to declare war against France; to dismiss the Grand Vizir, who certainly was the cause of the Porte's remaining neuter, and probably of the wise plan adopted with regard to Egypt; and to appoint the Kaimakan

(governor)

(governor) of Constantinople in his stead *. This officer was known to be an enemy to the French. But in case the Divan refused to accede to these propositions, the above-named ministers threatened to quit Constantinople. The Porte, intimidated by such a combination, necessarily complied with the request. Now it is the well-known, inevitable consequence, that if a Grand Vizir neglects his duty, he feels the fatal bow-string. Was that the case in this instance? It certainly was not. The Grand Vizir was dismissed, it is true—but not disgraced. So far from that, the command of the troops destined to act against Passawan Oglow, was offered to him, but declined. The Ottoman minister has been all the time at Paris, and lives there at the expence of his own government. The 1st of September, 1798, the Ottoman Porte issued a manifesto, which shews how lightly

* The reason is pretty obvious; he was ambassador at the munificent court of St. James's in the year 1794.

the matter was treated: it says, "The Supreme Vizier has always the instruction of defence for the Ottoman dominions, and that he never ought to be off his guard: but *he, from selfish motives*, has attended to nothing but his own interest, and has not apprised the inhabitants of Egypt of the intentions of those swinish infidels, the French." And, like the Vatican, calling upon every good Mussulman to kill a Frenchman, &c. The battle of the Nile, followed. In a military point of view, it is a splendid victory: but when we reflect that that victory has been the cause of embroiling all Europe again, it damps the joy we otherwise should feel. It caused a delirium amongst the crowned barbarians of the Continent; it inspired Naples and Austria with fresh hopes of subduing the French; and even the negotiations at Rastadt, took a very different turn in consequence of that bloody, boasted, bootless victory. In fine, the tocsin of crusade was again founded:

founded: couriers were again dispatched from one corner of Europe, to the other. The Russian, till now inactive, saw it his interest to join the confederacy. As he could now pass the Dardanelles, he might reconquer Egypt, or get some footing in the Mediterranean, which was the chief object of his junction in the crusade. His brother of Germany, contrived different means to delay and protract the negociation at Rastadt, and by irritating notes and memorials to induce the French to break off the negociations, as Paul had promised speedily to send 100,000 men (if such they can be called) to Germany, under the command of that arch-assassin, Suwarrow.

In November, 1798, about three months after the battle of the Nile, the vaunted legions of despotism, ignorance, and barbarity, are already on their march towards Germany, but the Emperor of *all* the Russias had already made his bargain for two millions.

The

The British cabinet, the pay-all of Europe, so often and deservedly cheated by the pious chiefs of regular, religious governments, declared that its sacred wisdom would not be duped any more, and would not send "money" without having "money's worth," and 50,000 Russians must arrive in *Germany* before the autocrat could touch the cash. These observations are corroborated by the speech from the throne, at the opening of the sessions of 1798. It states, "That the battle of the Nile has aroused the Turks and the Emperor of Russia; and expresses a sincere hope that it will have the same effect on every State of Europe," &c. &c. But as no Russian was yet *in Germany*, nothing was therefore said about money. They arrive at last, and on Monday the 1st of April, 1799, 1,200,000*l.* sterling were voted as a subsidy to the Emperor of Russia.

I must now take a view of the base conduct
and

and aggressions of the court of Naples*, which are chiefly to be attributed to the Anglo-Austrian faction; for if the court of Naples had not expected Anglo-Austrian and Russian assistance, it never would have commenced hostilities. The aggressions of that vile Court, even before it declared war, were numerous. When Admiral Nelson, after the battle of the Nile, arrived at Naples, the most extravagant joy was manifested: fêtes, illuminations, and public rejoicings took place. The King and Queen went out to sea to meet and congratulate the British Admiral.

When the French ambassador, Citizen Garat, a scholar and a gentleman, went to

* The court of Naples never could forget, or forgive, the French Republic sending a grenadier on shore, from Admiral Truguet's squadron, to adjust some differences with the court of Naples.—That was a terrible thing to Kings, for the world, or the best part of it, to learn, that *a French grenadier is fully competent to treat with such kings!*

court on the day when Lord Nelson was first introduced, the Queen actually turned her back upon him.

When it was known that Malta remained in the hands of the French, the King of Naples issued an edict, which made it death for any Neapolitan to send provisions to Malta; he also committed a variety of other aggressions. At last this King, with his great champion and adviser, General Mack, instigated by Lord Nelson, could not check their crusading violence: for in November, 1798, this great potentate, and his great commander, enter the Roman territories with a numerous band of cut-throats and assassins, preceded by a declaration, addressed in the following words, to General Championet, commanding the French troops, which were by no means numerous: “ I purpose taking Rome, which I
 “ desire you to evacuate, as also its territories,
 “ as it has been revolutionized since the treaty
 “ of

“ of Campo Formio *. I further charge you
 “ not to send any of your troops into the
 “ Tuscan territories ; and if a shot is fired on
 “ any Neapolitan soldier, every Frenchman,
 “ in my power, shall be put to death.” (This
 was also given out in general orders.) And,
 in *this* instance, Mack was as good as his word.
 At Arcoli three French soldiers were tied to a
 tree, and shot: and at the hospital of Ostricoli,
 which fell into the hands of Mack, thirty
 French soldiers, who had undergone an am-
 putation the preceding day, were shot, and
 the remainder *burnt* !!! †

As the neutrality of Tuscany, is mentioned
 in Mack's proclamation, we shall see how these
 honest agents, in an honourable cause, acted in
 this business.

* By the treaty of Campo Formio, it was not stipulated
 that the French minister should be murdered with impu-
 nity.—Brave M. Mack !

† See the account from Terni of the 11th December,
 1798, in any of the London newspapers of the 3d of Ja-
 nuary, 1799.

When

When this King, equally brave and wise, with his bully, Mack, sallied forth from Naples, *desiring the French to observe the neutrality of Tuscany*, Admiral Nelson conveyed 8000 Neapolitan troops on board English and Portuguese ships, to Leghorn, to attack the rear of the French. They arrive at Leghorn, and prepare to land; the commandant pretends to resist, but afterwards issued the following proclamation:

Leghorn, Nov. 30, 1798.

“ The illustrious Jacob Lavaillete, major-general of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, commandant of Leghorn, notifies and makes known, that there appeared in the Port of Leghorn a squadron of English and Portuguese men of war, having Neapolitan troops on board, notifying that they must effect a landing, and if resisted, to effect it by force. That in consequence of his inability

“ ability to make resistance, he allowed them
 “ to disembark, under the express condition
 “ of respecting the neutrality of Tuscany.”
 But how was this *neutrality* of *Tuscany* observed? The instant the squadron entered the harbour, Admiral Nelson seized, as lawful prizes, a very rich fleet of Genoese merchantmen *.

On the approach of the King and Mack, the French army evacuated Rome, which, thereupon, became a scene of blood and horror. The cardinals Abani, Brasca, and Braschi (the Pope's nephew), entered Rome with the Neapolitan cut-throats, and commenced their functions by committing every outrage, and almost every violation of the rights and feelings of human nature. In

* See an article from Leghorn, dated the 10th of December, 1798, in the *Hamburgh Correspondent* of the 10th of January, 1799,

fine, *all* the Jews, young and old, men, women, and children, were massacred! not a soul of 10,000 of these unfortunate people, escaped the champions of order and religion; and a thousand acts of singular cruelty were also practised on Catholics who were known, or suspected, to be attached to the French cause—*the cause of freedom, and genuine virtue!*

The perfidy of the court of Sardinia, was not less notorious, though it missed the delectable opportunity of rivalling that of Naples in barbarities which attach to the good order and religion of the coalesced cabinets, eternal infamy and execration. The Executive Directory of the French Republic, after such facinorous aggressions, declared war against Sardinia and Naples; and in a very short time after, the victorious Republicans entered Turin and Naples. The King of Sardinia was permitted

mitted to retire to the island of Sardinia : his bloody brother of Naples, made his escape to Palermo ; and on his arrival there caused every Frenchman to be put to death.

The Directory now began to take public notice, through the medium of its ministers at Rastadt *, of the arrival of the Russian troops on the German territories. This was published in all the newspapers several months before the official communication took place. They well knew it was a preconcerted plan between Naples, Sardinia, Russia, Austria, and Great Britain. Naples and Sardinia began too soon, which was very fortunate for the Directory, then having only those two powers to contend with ; powers they could crush at a blow. The strong-holds in Piedmont, and the possession of Naples was, no doubt, a great acquisition to the French ; and thus, in

* See State Papers, Rastadt, 2d. January, 1799.

the first onset, the projects of the allies, were thwarted.

The ministers of the empire at Rastadt, took up the matter seriously, about the Russian troops, and presented a note in reply to the French minister's, dated Rastadt, 14th of January, wherein they say, " That no requisition had been made to the Empire on the part of the Emperor, respecting the march of the Russian troops, and that they would refer it to the diet at Ratisbon." The members of the diet, in consequence of the requisition of its deputies at Rastadt, want to open the Protocol, i. e. to take the opinion of the several envoys on the subject. But the ministers of Bohemia and Hanover resist it, saying, " That they should wait the sentiments of the great courts on this important subject;" and the majority of the envoys voted to refer it to the Emperor. The Emperor, in reply, says, " They must take care

“ not to offend the powerful Emperor of Rus-
 “ sia, who, as a member of the empire, might,
 “ conformably to the treaty of Teschen, send
 “ troops *to the empire for its defence!*” At
 the same time the Russians were advancing,
 and the Austrians are ordered to cross the
 Inn *, and quit the Hereditary States. The
 French government, seeing very clearly the
 shuffling and chicanery of the Imperial cabinet,
 passed the Rhine, at the same time assuring
 the Diet, by proclamation, that if they would
 only solemnly protest against the Russians’ en-
 tering Germany, they (the French) would
 prosecute the negociation for peace with the
 empire. But after waiting in vain, for four-
 teen days, in warlike attitude, they advance
 and surround Rastadt. Count Lehrbach, the
 Imperial plenipotentiary, applies to the French
 ministers for a passport and escort to the
 Austrian posts, which he immediately obtain-

* This was contrary to the preliminaries of peace for the empire, signed at Rastadt.

ed, and quitted Rastadt in safety. Republicans are no assassins.

About this period, the diplomatic bullies began to shew their teeth again. Honourable Mr. Paget, British minister at the court of Bavaria, insists that the French minister at that court, M. Trouve and M. Alquier, French minister at the court of Stütgard, should immediately be sent away, although those two sovereigns were at profound peace with France. The two courts resisted the application: in consequence of which they sent to the Archduke, then in the vicinity, who immediately sent a detachment to carry away by force the two ministers, as also M. Bacher, the French minister at Ratisbon. About this period (on the 10th of March, 1799) a circular note is sent about to all the corps diplomatique at Vienna, which stated, that “ with a fine army, and vast resources, (the “ drainings of poor John Bull’s pocket) His

“ Imperial Majesty will not be dictated to by
 “ the French. He, therefore, hopes his ex-
 “ ample will be followed by every state in
 “ Europe. The cause of kings, when united,
 “ cannot longer be doubtful ; but if divided,
 “ their reign must soon be at an end.” This
 state-paper is an epitome of the sentiments of
 most of the Kings and Emperors in Europe.
 But in any cause the league of the continental
 Kings and Emperors, is a rope of sand ; the
 fragile concert of wolves and tygers.

I now come to a recital which must fill
 every honest, just, and humane heart, with
 horror. I allude to the assassination of the
 French plenipotentiaries on their quitting
 Rastadt.

From some former statements in this Work,
 it has appeared, that the house of Austria,
 more than once, embrued its brutal hands in
 the blood of French ambassadors, Baron de
 Jacobi,

Jacobi, Prussian minister to the court of St. James's, then at Rastadt, and all the other ministers, drew up a narrative of the horrid fact *, which corresponded fully and exactly with the account previously given by the surviving minister, Jean de Brie. The horror of the crime hardly exceeds the effrontery of those who strove to attribute the bloody deed to the French themselves. The puny echoes of this slander, in the Journals of this metropolis, *of every description*, are, in one respect, unworthy of notice ; but, in the other, they call for censure and regret. I have occasion to see newspapers of every country in Europe ; but in none of them, not even in the court Gazettes of Petersburg and Vienna, was it treated in so trifling and unbecoming a manner. The most hostile and prejudiced Gazettes of the Continent, seemed to consider it as having been perpetrated by robbers, or by French emigrants : both which suppositions

* See Appendix, G.

are absurd. No emigrants could enter the Austrian lines; and surely common robbers would have taken their valuables, which, however, were not touched. But the True Briton and Morning Chronicle *know better*, and give more than an indirect lie to Baron Jacobi, and his diplomatic colleagues. But to the fact! — Three days before the French deputies had any idea of quitting Raftadt, they sent off a courier with dispatches to France. He had not proceeded far on his journey ere he was arrested, taken to the quarters of the ruffian Barbaczy *, who put him under arrest, took his dispatches from him, and forwarded them *to the Archduke*, who, in his turn, took very good care of them. These dispatches contained some references in them which would be further explained by papers in the possession of the French deputies. It was therefore necessary to get hold of them, *coûte qui coûte*. As soon as this violation of the laws of nations was known, all the mi-

* Colonel of the regiment of Szekler hussars.

nisters at Rastadt applied to Baron D'Albin, the directorial envoy of Mayence, who writes to Barbaczy to give up the dispatches, and release the courier. But to which that assassin replies, " That the seizure of the French courier, " and his papers, was an important effect, resulting from the operations of the advanced " posts, and was only to be decided by superior authorities, which circumstance prevented his complying with his Excellency's wishes." As soon as the archduke is satisfied that the papers in the possession of the French ministers, are of immediate use, he orders his * deputy-assassin, Barbaczy, to order the French plenipotentiaries to depart in twenty-four hours. This note was delivered at seven in the evening. They punctually obey; they arrive at the gates, which were shut, and not a soul suffered to depart with them; and some German servants, which they had during their stay at Rastadt, and who

* Qui facit per alium, facit per se.

were to have gone with them as far as the Rhine—even *they* were not permitted to depart. The minister, Bonnier, asked the officer on duty, “ what all these precautions meant, and if they “ were to have an escort ?” The officer said, “ he only obeyed his orders with regard to the “ gates, but had no orders to give them an “ escort.” The ministers became alarmed, and sent to Barbaczy, who answered, verbally, “ * Let them go to the devil, *who'll soon have* “ *them!* What are they afraid of? Tell them, “ rogues never rob each other.” This message was sent by a German servant, who related it publicly, and swore to it in the presence of those ministers at Rastadt, who drew up a narration of the anti-diplomatic murders. What followed is well known. Two of the French ministers were assassinated, and their effects and dispatches carried off to *Barbaczy's quarters!!!* As soon as this horrid event

* Laß ihn nach dem Henker gehn, er wird sie bald genug hohlen. Sagt das Französische Gefindel. Ein dieb stiehlt nie was von seinem Cameraden.

was known at Rastadt, the Prussian secretary of legation, M. Jordan, immediately repaired thither, with the servants of the murdered deputies. The effects, consisting of bags of Louis, watches, clothes, &c. &c. were immediately restored to their servants. The papers were also demanded, but the answer was, “ that
 “ they were sent to the head-quarters of
 “ the *Archduke!!!*”

The *directorial* minister, Baron D’Albini, notified it to the cut-throat Barbaczy, who replied, “ that as he had given them twenty-
 “ four hours’ notice to depart, they might
 “ have set off in the day-time, and that
 “ he would give an escort to the survivors.”

Humane soldier! gallant Austrian! this conduct of thine, and thy *Archduke*, is well known to the people at Rastadt: all Europe, except our *discerning English journalists*, *KNOW*
THAT YOU BOTH HAVE BEEN THE
AUTHORS OF THIS DARK DEED.

Canst

Canst thou, or thy masters, the Arch-duke, and the Arch-devil, deny being in possession of the dispatches stolen from the French courier, as well as those from the murdered ministers?

Thou mayest again say, “ That it was an
 “ important effect, resulting from the opera-
 “ tions of the advanced posts.” Wast thou
 also among the murderous harpies that arrested Messrs. Semonville and Maret? Didst thou bear or buy the poison designed for Baron Gortz? Knowing that dead men can tell no tales, thy invention strains to lay the blame to the French government. But that, assassin! is too stale a trick.

An ambassador of a northern court, at Vienna, told me that a certain indiscreet whisper (murder will out!) was overheard at Vienna, which made it incontrovertibly certain, that the Austrian cabinet had got the papers of the murdered deputies, for the substance of a *secret project*

project in possession of the French plenipotentiaries at the time of the murder, and *exclusively known to them*, to the northern ambassador at Rastadt, who presented it, and to the above-mentioned northern ambassador at the court of Vienna: I say, the substance of that *project*, *transpired at Vienna!!* And from one of the ambassadors just quoted, not more distinguished by learning and elegance, than by the strictest honour and veracity, have I heard it stated, that it was morally impossible for the Austrian court to have come to the most distant knowledge of it but by the aforesaid robbery and assassination. I repeat it, monsters! your guilt is as manifest as it is enormous. You are defended in *England only*. *There* any crime committed by the agents of crowned heads of the Continent, is now considered innocent! often—meritorious. How is this horrid affair taken up? The Archduke, and the Emperor, of course, disavow it: the ministers at Rastadt complain of it to the Diet, entreating them thoroughly to investigate it: instead

instead of which, they refer to the Emperor, in flagrant contradiction to the laws of the Empire *: The Diet is the supreme authority, and

* It is obvious why the Diet referred it to the Emperor: The Aulic council of Vienna, with its wonted hypocrisy, addressed a note to the Diet, dated June 13, 1799, desiring them to appoint deputies of their own, to investigate the murderous catastrophe at Rastadt; and to make a report thereof to the Emperor; to which the Diet came to the following resolutions.

1. The deliberations, as desired by the Emperor, to commence the 12th of July.

2. The Imperial Commissioner shall be asked whether the decree implies in its meaning a deputation of the states, as individuals of the Empire?

3. That in the latter case Ratisbon shall be proposed to the Emperor as the place of discussion; but in the former case, a *safe* place, which shall not be too distant from that where the deed was perpetrated, shall be proposed to his Imperial Majesty.

4. That the French government shall afterwards be invited to delegate some person to assist in the enquiry, and to communicate the legal depositions to the injured parties.

5. The deputations shall be provided with unlimited powers, and to agree together upon a sentence; or to send the acts of their deliberations to impartial quarters.

These resolutions were sent to the Emperor, but were never replied to; therefore the Diet, in order to get rid of it, finally referred the matter to the Emperor.

not the Emperor; it would be just the same, if the House of Lords were to send back an appeal to Lord Kenyon, or to an inferior court? The trick is plain; at the Diet every envoy can declare his sentiments, which are *registered*. This might have brought the murder, now registered only in Heaven, home to the authors of it. It is therefore referred to the Emperor, who, although King of the Romans, I believe is not *Roman* enough to accuse himself and brothers of a foul murder. Posterity will shudder, or not believe, that this horrid affair was no further investigated--than by putting Barbaczy under arrest for *twenty-four hours*, to be again placed at the head of his regiment!!!

CHAP. X.

THIS disastrous war which every humane heart long-wished, and lately considered at an end, was, thanks to the *Hero of the Nile!* re-kindled in a manner not more injurious than disgraceful to civilized Europe. The campaigns of 1792 and 1793 were indeed marked with wanton murders*. But on the hero of Prague's arrival at the seat of war, his barbarity baffled description, and proved that
fame

* I was at Frankfurth on the Mayn, when it was retaken by the Hessians, in 1792, who got possession of it by a *coup de main*. Hundreds of men threw away their muskets and hid themselves in houses, in closets, and chimnies. When an Hessian thought there was a Frenchman in a house, he set fire to it to bring him out, and then murdered him. About 600 Frenchmen were dispatched in this barbarous, wanton manner.

A party of French prisoners, about forty in number, were brought into the inn in Flanders, where I was, under an escort of a Dutch picket; they wrapped themselves up
by

fame had hardly done him justice ; for according to letters from Venice, which appeared in the Hamburgh correspondence, a French picket of about sixty men were made prisoners ; and, to give *éclat* to his *début*, he had them all murdered, except two, whom he sent back to France, desiring them to tell their comrades that *Suwarrow was come*.

It is with the blushing regret of an Englishman, that I attach any blame to a British officer less illustrious by rank than valour. I allude to the tragical fate of Prince *Carracioli*. It seems he embraced the popular cause at Naples ; and when that city was re-taken, the Prince, who was an Admiral in the Neapolitan navy, and who had his flag on board, surrendered expressly to the English Admiral,

by the fire-side, and went to sleep. Soon after, some Croats entered, and perceiving that the men asleep, were French prisoners (there being a centinel over them), they rushed on and murdered them *all* with a frantic joy.

under the sacred guarrantee of his *word of honour*, that he should have permission to retire in safety whither he pleased: but when he came on board Lord Nelson's ship, he was seized, thrown into a dungeon, tried by a Court Martial, and hanged.

The next bloody item in this catalogue, is the massacre of the garrison of the Castle of St. Elino, which consisted of the Neapolitan patriots and French troops. They would not surrender to the Calabrian ruffians, but to the English, who signed a capitulation with them*, that the whole garrison, as well as every other person in the place, that wished it, should be conveyed safely to Toulon, protected by the English. How were the terms of this capitulation fulfilled? The instant they got the Neapolitans out of the castle, they were

* Captain Foote of the Sea-Horse frigate signed the capitulation on the part of the English.

given up to their barbarous countrymen, who put every man of them to death*. About this period a circumstance occurred at Hamburg, which also deserves to be taken notice of. J. Napper Tandy, declared a rebel by his country, it is true, but being in a neutral country, and his person therefore inviolable, was seized, and in despite of the laws of nations, he was thence conveyed to England. Such a transaction stands unparalled in history, excepting the king of Prussia's seizing Baron Trenck in the neutral city of Dantzic, which was protested against by all the German powers. I do not mean to say that because Tandy bore an officer's commission in the French service, that he was not amenable to the laws of his country. The *crime* consists in seizing him on a neutral territory. The French government never made an application to have an emigrant arrested at

* See Appendix H.

Hamburgh, though that city was latterly quite *à la Cobientz*.

It is also necessary to notice the violation of the peace concluded between the Turks and general Kleber, by the British cabinet. Kleber is on Turkish territory, concludes a peace with his adversary in arms. The commodore of the English squadron in that quarter, by way of guarantee, was invited to take a part in it. General Desaix, one of the principal officers commanding in Egypt, accordingly set sail for France, furnished with the necessary passports from all the parties who signed the treaty. This brave officer was nevertheless stopped by an English cruiser, and sent by Lord Keith as prisoner to Leghorn; where he was put into the common lazaretto; he wrote to the British Admiral for the indulgence of pen, ink, and papers, and to be put in a situation according to his rank; the *gal-lant* admiral replied, “ Sir, I am surprized
“ you

“ you wish for a situation different from your
 “ crew, as you are in France all for equality,
 “ you may now enjoy the practical part of
 “ equality which you hitherto only have had
 “ in theory.” By this morsel of marine wit,
 was this brave man precluded every indulgence.
 Ask any of the English officers who were prisoners in France, how they were treated? Let the officers in the memorable Ostend, Helder, and Toulon expeditions, let captain Bristow of the guards, and captain lord Proby of the navy, speak of their treatment in France. It may be said that general Don and Sir Sidney Smith were confined in prisons; but it must also be admitted that in other countries they *would have been worse treated*. For it is well known that when the latter and his boat’s crew were taken prisoners at Havre, combustibles, &c. were found upon them, for the purpose of setting fire to Havre, and the ships in its harbour. The crime of the former, was greater.

We are now come to the period when the saviour of France, returned from Egypt to that country. The incapacity of the Exécutive Directory, as well as the corruption of its agents, caused much trouble in France; its brave armies in Germany and Italy, from the want of food and clothing, as well as their great inferiority in number, to their barbarous foes, could not make a stand against them; astonished Europe, beheld the once mighty and victorious republican phalanxes quickly retiring from their foes. The philosopher and philanthropist began to tremble at the progress of the blood-drinker, Suwarrow, and his russian host. France was now threatened to become a second Poland; to have her fertile soil partitioned by the despots of the continent, as agreed on by the treaty of Pavia. It was invested on every side, its treasury exhausted, the two councils and the executive power, as well as the constituted authorities, in open hostility with each other, and the worst of all evils which

can

can afflict any state, namely, the people without confidence in their government. Such was the desperate state of the French Republic when the HERO of LODI arrived; the memorable epoch that followed must be fresh in the memory of my readers; I allude to the revolution of Brumaire, which called BONA-PARTE to the office of first Magistrate of the Republic. Yes, he was called by the unanimous voice of the nation, to rescue it from a demagogical yoke, to send succour to the threatened frontiers, and to procure for France the blessings of a permanent peace. In the former he was successful. Masena soon after obtained a complete victory over the Russians in Switzerland, and to this battle (as well as the ill-treatment of their countrymen in the expedition to Holland) is owing the secession of the Imperial Paul from the confederacy, as without doubt, the Austrians very much contributed towards it. In the latter he was not so, though he immediately wrote to the Emperor,

peror, requesting an armistice, and to enter into negotiations; his letter to the Emperor, was positively sent back: here then is a contrast between the Republican Chief and the Roman Emperor of the West. When the legions of the latter, were entirely surrounded and could easily have been annihilated in the following campaign, he begged for an armistice, and it was granted. The First Consul next addresses a letter, the herald of peace, to the King of Great Britain. The answer was, that the government is young, and that only the Bourbons, as the legal heirs to the French sceptre, could restore peace to the French nation: Does not our sage cabinet make use of words just as they suit them? is it consistent with the laws of nations, as laid down by all publicists, to reject the proposals for peace from any government, even from a military usurper *? Has not the British cabinet

* When an unjust conqueror, or any other has invaded the kingdom, he becomes possessed of all the powers

binet treated with *black Emperors* and *white Empresses* who have murdered their nearest relations? But those *honourable* dealers in blood, Pitt, Thugut, and Co. seem to have wished a little more of their commodity to be expended; for at least 150,000 men, French and German have perished, from the time of Bonaparte's offering to treat for peace, till the memorable battle of Maringo, by which the French got the entire possession of Italy, and almost annihilated their enemies; upon this a convention is entered into, by which the Austrian army is allowed to file off towards their own country. This convention brought on an armistice for a limited time, both for the armies in Italy and Germany.

About

ers of government, when once the people have submitted to him, and by a voluntary homage, acknowledged him as their sovereign. Other states as having no right to intermeddle with the domestic concerns of that nation, or to interfere in her government, are bound to abide by her decision, and to look no further than the circumstances of
actual

About this period, the Emperor sends the Count de St. Julien to Paris, to treat for peace. This nobleman, beside his FULL POWERS to treat on *any* terms, took two letters with him to the First Consul; one from the Emperor, the other from the Archduke, who had become personally acquainted with Bonaparte during the negotiations at Leoben. This negotiator SIGNS PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE, and returns to Vienna. General Duroc, on the part of the French government, was to have accompanied him to Vienna to adjust some trifling difference which still existed. But, as soon as this was known to Thugut, he immediately dispatched a courier to General Kray, with orders *not* to suffer General Duroc to pass the Austrian lines, as his presence at:

actual possession. They may therefore broach and conclude a treaty of peace with the usurper. vide Vattel's Laws of Nations, p. 436, lib. iv. And this doctrine is much like our own relative to regal power *de jure* and *de facto*.

Vienna

Vienna, would not be desirable. Even this indignity was patiently endured by the Republican Chief. The preliminaries were sent back to Paris to undergo some modifications. In the interim, up starts the Lord Minto, one of our diplomatic drawcansirs, and absolutely declares vengeance against Austria—if she makes a separate peace. Though these threats were disregarded by the Imperial government, yet some *weightier* considerations prevailed with the palm, if not with the conscience of Thugut: thus was he persuaded to receive John Bull's gracious present, together with about two millions more for his master. The modifications, as proposed by the court of Vienna, were accepted by Bonaparte. But, when these were sent to Vienna to be ratified, fresh objections were made; and so they go on, shifting, shuffling, and swindling, till the French are about to recommence hostilities; when the Emperor, after taking the sacrament,

and

and making his will, repairs to the army, and, instead of fighting, pawns three fortresses which do not belong to him, as a proof of his sincerity. For what? Not surely for the armistice, for that is at an end. But he pawns these fortresses as a pledge of his making peace with France within a certain time. The French were wisely willing to negotiate, and fight at the same time; to make new conquests, and obtain new imperial pawns: *for the recommencement of hostilities has nothing to do with these negotiations, as no cessation of arms, was admitted in the preliminaries signed by Count Julien.* The French General would not listen to such a proposal. Thus then the French are ready to meet the armies of the Emperor; even at a time when negotiations were carrying on: but the Emperor, witnessing the distress and discomfiture of his army, durst not lead them to action. Peace not being made, instead of fighting, he surrenders the three
fortresses

fortresses as the price of their forbearance. Even at this period, when Count de Cobenzel is at Luneville, if peace is not signed and ratified by the time agreed on, the French and Austrians will come to blows, at least unless new pledges are given of *Austrian sincerity*. The different armistices were only concluded for a certain time, and bear no reference whatever to the Preliminaries of Peace. This is obviously done by the French to press the Emperor to come to a resolution, either to prosecute the war, or to make new sacrifices, and all without breaking off the negociation for peace. This is certainly a new and masterly, because moderate and humane, piece of diplomacy on the part of France, as armistices, and negociations for peace, have never before been separately treated for: The French government is well aware that Austria will be no gainer if they again come to blows; and the Austrian cabinet, even Mr. Pitt's representative there,

is

is also well convinced of it, which accounts for the sacrifices that have been made*.

I have now been told a circumstance relative to the negotiations, the veracity of which may be depended on. Indeed, my authority is unquestionable, but I'm not at liberty to name it. The court of Vienna, the people of Vienna, the Vienna court Gazette, and all

* In the recent correspondence between Lord Grenville and M. Otto, the latter gentleman very justly and very honestly observed, that, "In the eyes of *some* statesmen we the French may appear guilty of gross misconduct in suffering so much time to elapse, without having compelled the Emperor to make a peace." In this observation I fully agree with Mr. Otto. And General Melas might have said, with the Consul Posthumius, upon his return to Rome. In his speech to the Senate, he says, "Your Generals, and those of the enemy, were equally guilty of imprudence; we, in incautiously involving ourselves in a dangerous situation,—they, in suffering us to escape. Why did they not keep us shut up in our camp? Why did they not send to Rome to treat for peace on sure grounds with the Senate and the people?" Vid. Livy, L.

Germany,

Germany, never said that which the British ministers had the audacity to avow, namely, that Count St. Julien had no powers to treat. I ask, would the French have suffered the Count to remain in Paris one hour, if he had not proper credentials? I believe the French have always shewn themselves too good publicists not to distinguish full from limited powers. Even Lord Malmesbury will do them the justice to say so. It is matter of surprize that the respectable talents and time of the opposition, should have been occupied in replying to such *prima facie* falsehoods and wickedness. Had not so much been said about the negociation, it would not have here been noticed, as here closes the CATALOGUE OF THE CRIMES OF * CABINETS,

NETS,

* There have been a number of Crimes committed by Cabinets, which I think not quite so enormous, and of such magnitude, as those I have stated in the book. For instance; our cabinets purchasing cargoes of stones to

NETS, which the Public are requested to read as coming from a man who has met with no disappointment from any cabinet, and whose intentions are not hostile to social order, but who conceives it as a duty he owes mankind, to relate that which came under his own immediate knowledge; facts of which he had ocular demonstration. And he here declares that he could get every fact contained in these pages, corroborated by testimonies of the first respectability, did their *stations* admit of it. In the honest conviction that what he has stated, is nothing but truth; nor his motive any other than an earnest, ardent

choke up an enemy's port *; and a captain of an English man of war taking a Swedish ship by a *coup de pirate*, in the harbour of Barcelona; for the purpose of taking two Spanish frigates; a captain in the English navy wantonly destroying a defenceless port and town in the Mediterranean, for having, two years ago, fired on some British soldiers. Were all to be enumerated, it would fill some folios.

* See the Albion newspaper of Oct. 10, 1800.

wish for the return of moderation, liberality, peace, and solid prosperity, to this deluded, afflicted country.

Justum & tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solidâ.

HORACE.

He is prepared to meet all the prejudice, insolence, and resentment of those who are enemies to truth, peace, candour, and philanthropy. If it be asked whether the conduct of the French government, has been immaculate? the answer is very obvious, they have been incalculably more so than those regular, religious governments that by every crime, art, and every falsehood, have laboured to destroy them. The French government, from the year 1792, till the present moment, have incessantly been worried abroad by those governments, and at home, by factions, in their pay. Never since, have they had the blessings

of peace allowed them, obliged to be always on the alert, to raise money to support the war, a war of unprecedented acrimony, difficulty, and extent, which was forced upon them by an unprovoked confederacy. Did the government of France murder, rob, and torture Ambassadors *? Did their Ambassadors ever attempt to bribe the Generals or Ministers of any belligerent powers?

Did they ever set fire to arsenals and shipping?

Was there ever an instance of the various governments of France, forging the paper currency of their enemies? and give

* When Lord Malmfbury was performing at Lille, two King's Messengers were lost going into Calais with dispatches; two days after, the dispatches were found, and were forwarded to their destination, by the municipality of Calais, to his Lordship. Hear this, ye Archdukes, and Archdevils, and Barbaczzis.

it a public sanction in a court of justice?

Did their soldiers or officers ever kill their enemies in cold blood, although there was a decree of the convention to that effect * ?

Did the French government ever refuse to ratify any treaty or engagement entered into by its agents? Without entering into any further recapitulation of the Crimes of Cabinets, can the French government be charged with any thing similar? Very recently there was much nonsense afloat about French armies entering Leghorn. Such a proceeding was

* I don't know if General Pichegru is in the country. I however, appeal to him if he has not said that although the decree of the Convention was to that effect, he received private instructions not to enforce it by any means, as it was only done with a view to frighten the English and Hanoverian troops. It is well known that not one English or Hanoverian soldier was thus murdered, and had Pichegru acted contrary to his orders, the guillotine would have awaited him.

not contrary to the laws of nations *, as Tuscany had at that time, encouraged the enemies of France, and suffered people of different nations at war with France, to organize themselves for hostility there. Proper notice was sent to the sovereign of that country, to disband them; but he did not. I have before noticed the conduct of Admiral Nelson in the port of Leghorn, which was infinitely more repugnant to the Laws of Nations.

* Vide Vattel, Laws of Nations.

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

AS we have now nearly attained the commencement of the ninth year of this war, it may not be improper to notice the guilt which is still attached to the British cabinet ; every man that has his intellects, must see, and be convinced, that all the blood that has been spilt since the confederacy began to be dis-jointed, is owing to its distracted councils. When the manufactories of Exeter, Leeds, and Birmingham, have no trade—when taxes, and our “solid system of finance,” oppress every class of persons---when provisions are 400 per cent. dearer than in France, and 300 per cent. dearer than in Italy, Germany, and in Holland---and when the WANT of BREAD stares Englishmen in the face, one of his Ma-

jefty's Ministers* tells the nation, " We are, *by*
 " *this war*, an independent country, blessed
 " with happiness, with commercial prosper-
 " rity, an abundance of wealth, until the
 " present hour, unknown to any part of this
 " world, with a free constitution, entire, un-
 " tainted with republican laws, and jacobini-
 " cal morality——Here we are, and this is
 " our condition, and this, I say, we owe to
 " the *present war*; and *God avert a peace*
 " (what blasphemy!) with a Jacobin republic!
 " As to Bonaparte, I do not mean to enter
 " into the spirit of his perfidy, or of his plun-
 " der and rapacity, nor am I to suppose, that
 " after a peace, a miracle will be wrought in
 " his favour," &c. &c. I wish to ask that
 able War Secretary, where is the commercial
 prosperity of this country? To France, to
 Spain, to all Germany, we have none, except

* See Mr. Windham's Speech in the House of Commons, Dec. 1, 1800.

Franckfort and Leipzig, and the swindling trade to Hamburg, which only exists to support the needy English manufacturers of Manchester and Leeds ; Italy is shut against us, and our late ally, Paul, who seems determined to be sovereign in Italy, will prevent our ever trading thither, any more than to his northern dominions. Prussia will not allow us to enter British manufactures in the ports of Embden, Stettin, Dantzic, Elbing, Konigsberg, Memel, or Pillau, and perhaps not in Hamburg nor Bremen ; still the Honourable Secretary calls this a nation *blessed with commercial prosperity*. As to “ an abundance of wealth until the “ present hour unknown,” *in that* I agree with Mr. W. *Finance certainly can never fail in this country without failure of rags* ; but if the ports of Hamburgh and Bremen are shut, we shall find the circulating medium as scanty as it was in the year 1797. Though I grant that rags are fast on the increase in this prosperous country ; indeed, the streets of London exhibit

hibit a growing plenty of that commodity---
 Mr. Windham's motley emblem of our *commercial prosperity*. As "to our free constitution being *entire*," King, Lords, and Commons are still in existence; but are the same laws in existence which were enacted by the genuine spirit of that constitution, which was the envy of the world, and the solid boast of Britain? "Here we are," adds Mr. Windham, like the Irishman in the basket; but where is our liberty? where our prosperity?—Gone! and "THIS IS OUR CONDITION." After Mr. Windham and his colleagues have, with professed sincerity, attempted a negociation, as a plaything, no doubt, for that very gullible personage, John Bull, *he* prays, with impious energy, "God avert a peace!!!" Yet this political salamander joined in composing that production miscalled the King's speech, which says that he (his Majesty) is *anxious and desirous for a peace*. **THUS, ENGLISHMEN, ARE YE MIS-**
LED

IED, DUPED, AND PILLAGED. PREPARE YOURSELVES, THEN, FOR THE MOST DIREFUL CALAMITIES, THE GIFT OF YOUR MINISTERS. THEY WILL NEVER WISH FOR A PEACE, WHILE YOUR VEINS AND YOUR PURSES ARE THUS LIBERAL OF THEIR CONTENTS; and I do firmly believe, that if they were treating for peace, and were just ready to sign it on advantageous terms, and a beggarly Chouan were to arrive from the coast of France, stating that the white flag was flying on one of the most insignificant towns in that country, they would immediately break off all negociation with the French Government!!

Domestic and political economy have been both recommended; I recommend the use of *common sense*. Every man must know *where* the evil exists in the country: it requires no metaphysical investigation. It has even been doubted by many philosophers, whether the social state

is so natural to mankind as has generally been thought, considering the *few* wants man has, in proportion to the resources Nature affords him : and, when we consider the limited assistance and happiness they find in a civilized state, in comparison with the perils they are exposed to in it, our desire for liberty and independence must ever glow, in common with all other living creatures ; and the great sacrifices men must make for a compulsory peace, under the dominion of a despot, or an oppressive minister, are more than an equivalent for the precarious protection we obtain. What a frightful picture does, then, our political existence present to the thinking mind. When reason beams forth, and bestows on the nation a mixture of firmness and moderation, then, and only then, will true philosophy hold her natural reign. Why, then, should governments in general be so scared at her name ? It is their interest to encourage her progress ; and in vain will they attempt to impede it.

A cele-

A celebrated French Writer* says, " Liberty
 " has formed a kind of empire, which pre-
 " pares the way for making Europe be confi-
 " dered as one single republican power. In
 " truth, if philosophy be ever able to infi-
 " nuate itself into the minds of sovereigns, or
 " their ministers, the system of politics will
 " be improved, and rendered simple ; huma-
 " nity will be more regarded in all their
 " plans; the public good will form the basis
 " of negociations, and not merely, as hitherto,
 " the threadbare pretext for diplomatic vil-
 " lainsy, but even as an object of solid security
 " and happiness to kings."

It has been blasphemously said, that learn-
 ing is dangerous, and intellectual energy inju-
 rious to society : but such assertions and opi-
 nions must have originated with crafty states-
 men, and craftier priests, in order to divert

* Vide Abbé Reynall's History of the East and West
 Indies, vol. viii. liv. xix. p. 344.

attention from the depravity of their systems. In all religions, however, as well as in the various political establishments in the world, the opinions, creeds, laws, and forms, are various : but that there exists an universal germ of morality, must also be admitted. *All nations* (however different their forms of government and and religions tenets) have perceived that men ought to be just. Even nations called uncivilized render homage to goodness, friendship, love, patriotism, and all sentiments adapted to unite men more closely to each other, and contribute to the general good. Why, then, are we at present taught to shun our fellow man ; to consider him as naturally vicious, and naturally our enemy ? Are we bound in duty to dread Literature, and her daughter Philosophy ? The mistaken prince, and the priest, dread it, and almost every nation in Europe is either king or priest-ridden, or both. But if we do not carefully economise that portion of understanding which nature has imparted

parted to us, we never can attain that moderation, liberality, and benevolence so indispensable in well-regulated society. Yet what a state of national existence must that be where ministers and legislators indulge in all the little irritabilities and angry abuse of school-boys, against those who support them in their guilty splendour and luxury, a luxury now almost solitary in the nation. When will ministers bestow a kindly thought on the "swinish multitude," *their masters, their supporters*---the prompt footstools of pretended patriotism and philanthropy, but *sometimes* the dreadful avengers of unrestrained insult and oppression. Be wise, then, in time, ye Sovereigns of the Continent ! Ye Ministers of Britain, relieve the distresses and oppressions of the people submitted to your authority ! Play each *the father*, instead of *the pillager* and *oppressor* of your respective nations ; and you may laugh at busy spies, croakers, and plot-mongers, for ever. The throne of a *good king*

king (served by a wife and humane minister) is a throne of adamant; nothing can overthrow it.

That wisdom, that humanity, however, was a stranger to the confederacy for dilacerating two large and fertile states of Europe, and subverting their new-born freedom. Ye revered Champions of that glorious Revolution, whose fragility your present descendants have cause to lament, could ye have believed, that ere the close of the eighteenth century, Britain should join a liberticide conjuration? She has---but what is the consequence? That rope of sand, moistened with the blood of millions, and with the tears of Europe, from the Euxine to the Atlantic, is just on the eve of dissolution. After the loss of near 300,000 of her soldiers and sailors, by drowning, conflagration, contagion, a long-provoked rebellion, and the enemy's sword, and after having added 300,000,000*l.* to her national debt, poor
 Britain,

Britain, by turns the dupe and bully of Europe, but always its pay-all, sees at this moment, rising in solid and powerful confederacy against her, Russia, Prussia, the Porte, the new Ionic Republic, Denmark, Sweden, and perhaps Persia! My Country, thou art weighed in the balance against those hostile nations--- May the Genius of thy former prosperity not forsake thee amidst thy crimes, thy follies, and thy dangers!---may he restore peace and plenty to thy starving sons---justice, moderation, and humanity to thy councils!

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

Partition Treaty between the Courts in concert,
concluded and signed at Pavia in the Month of
July, 1791.*

HIS Majesty, the Emperor, will retake all that Louis XIV. conquered in the Austrian Netherlands, and uniting these Provinces to the said Netherlands, will give them to his serene highness the elector Palatine, so that these new possessions added to the Palatinate may hereafter have the name of Aufrasia.

* With this treaty was circulated a *map*, in which the purposed partitions were designated with a minuteness that betrayed the sanguine assurance of the royal plunderers of the continent : and one of those maps has since found its way to the national archives of France.

His majesty the emperor will preserve for ever the property and possession of Bavaria, to make in future an indivisible mass with the domains and hereditary possessions of the house of Austria.

Her serene highness, the archduchess, Maria Christina, shall be, conjointly with his serene highness, her nephew, the archduke Charles, put into hereditary possession of the duchy of Lorraine.

Alsace shall be restored to the empire, and the bishop of Strasburg, as well as the chapter, shall receive their ancient privileges: and the ecclesiastical sovereigns of Germany, shall do the same.

If the Swiss cantons consent and accede to the coalition, it may be proposed to them to annex to the Helvetic league, the bishopric of Porentrui, the defiles of
 Franche

Franche Comté, and even those of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the territory of Veuvey which intersects the Pays de Vaud.

Should his majesty the king of Sardinia subscribe to the coalition, La Bresse, Le Bugey, and the Pays de Gex, usurped by France from Savoy, shall be restored to him.

In case his Sardinian majesty can make a grand diversion, he shall be suffered to take Dauphiny to belong to him for ever, as the nearest descendant of the ancient dauphin.

His majesty the king of Spain shall have Roussillon and Bear with the island of Corsica, and he shall take possession of the French part of St. Domingo.

Her majesty, the empress of the Russias, shall take upon herself the invasion of Poland, and at the same time retain Kamienieck, with that part of Padolia which borders on Moldavia.

His majesty, the emperor, shall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the small forts of Servia, and those on the river Lurna.

His majesty, the king of Prussia, by the means of the abovementioned invasion, by the empress of all the Russias, of Poland, shall make an acquisition of Thorn and Dantzic, and there unite the Palatinate on the east to the confines of Silesia.

His majesty, the king of Prussia, shall besides acquire Lusace; and his serene highness, the elector of Saxony, shall, in exchange

change, receive the rest of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary sovereign.

His majesty, the present king of Poland, shall abdicate the throne on receiving a suitable annuity.

His royal highness, the elector of Saxony, shall give his daughter in marriage to his serene highness, the youngest son of his royal highness the grand duke of all the Russias, who will be the father of the race of the hereditary kings of Poland and Lithuania.

(Signed)

LEOPOLD, Emperor,
 (On the part of Russia) PRINCE NASSAU,
 (Spain) COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA,
 (Prussia) BISCHOFFSWERDER.

APPENDIX B.

2d September, 1793.

*Lord Hervey's Note to the Grand Duke of
Tuscany.*

WHEREAS the British Fleet has its principal magazines and store-houses on your coast, and since the commanders of the English fleets are determined to pass the winter in Leghorn, it is necessary for his highness to give orders to the French minister to quit the dominions of the grand duke, and that all the emblems of French democracy should be effaced from the palace in which the minister lived.

He

He further requests that all the followers of French anarchy should be severely punished; that all communications between France and Tuscany should cease; and that the grand duke will lose no time to effectuate what his British majesty requires, &c.

APPENDIX C.

Amsterdam, 22e Novembre, 1794.

Mon cher ami,

J'AI appris, avec grand plaisir, ton heureuse arrivée de Pologne, et je te remercie de la part que tu prends à ma santé ; la voilà, Dieu merci, assez bonne, et j'espère qu'avec un peu de ménagement, je me tirerai d'affaires. La sombre humeur dans laquelle tu m'a vu ici par rapport à la triste situation de ma patrie, ne m'a pas quitté encore, car je crains très fort que quelle que soit l'issue de la lutte actuelle,

ma

ma trop phlegmatique nation en fera la victime.

Le but du ministère Anglois étant indubitablement de ruiner totalement ce païsi-ci, s'il ne peut pas le conserver comme son esclave; une partie de la besogne est déjà faite, et il la fera achever en abandonnant le territoire. Les François ne fouroient guères l'empêcher, par les moyens qu'on a employé, et par ceux qu'on employra encore.

Il n'y a que les Hollandois eux-mêmes, et eux seuls, qui pourroient y porter obstacles, en se delivrant energiquement du despotisme de la *faction Angloise* sous laquelle ils gemissent. C'est à l'influence de cette faction qu'il faut attribuer tous les actes arbitraires que l'on fait, mais qui joint à la *conduite abominable des troupes Angloises*

*Angloises commencent à dessiller les yeux de
plusieurs egoïstes, &c. &c. &c.*

CASPAR MEYERD.

*M. Goldsmith,
chez M. Sieveking,
Hamburg.*

APPENDIX D.

The following Letters were delivered to Lord Grenville (No. 1. and No. 2.) on Friday, 26th April, 1793, by Mr. John Salter, of Poplar, at his Lordship's Office, Whitehall, on his Lordship's Requisition, after having perused Mr. Salter's Authority.

NUMBER 1.

“ My Lord,

“ THE French Republic being desirous to terminate all its differences with Great Britain, and to end a war which, by the
manner

manner it is otherwise likely to rage, cannot fail to bring miseries dreadful to humanity on both nations: I have the honour to demand of your lordship, as minister of his Britannic majesty, a passport and safe conduct for a person possessed with full powers to repair to London for that purpose.

“ Mr. John Salter, notary-public in London, will deliver this to your lordship; and on the condition of its being requisite, another letter, containing the name of the person who will have the confidence of his nation.

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“ LE BRUN,

“ The Minister for Foreign Affairs.”

Paris, April 2, 1793.

His Excellency Lord Grenville.

NUMBER 2.

“ My Lord,

“ AGREEABLE to the intimation given in my first letter, and which has for its object the restoration of peace, I have the honour to inform your lordship that Mr. Maret will be deputed to give to our nation that desirable event.

“ I need not remind your lordship that it will be necessary to attach to him three persons, as his secretary, valet, and courier ; but I claim from your lordship the necessary protection for them.

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“ LE BRUN.”

Paris, April 2, 1793.

His Excellency Lord Grenville.

Copy

*Copy of M. Le Brun's Letter to
Mr. Salter.*

“ Sir,

“ You will deliver to his excellency, lord Grenville, minister and secretary of state to his Britannic majesty for foreign affairs, the enclosed letter No. 1; and if his lordship demands it, also the enclosed letter No. 2; on behalf of the French Republic.

“ I am, sir, &c.

“ LE BRUN.”

Paris, April 2, 1793.

Mr. Salter, Poplar, London.

“ And I do attest the truth of the be-
“ forementioned copies of letters, No. 1
“ and

“ and No. 2, as also the letter to Mr. Sal-
 “ ter, to have been signed by M. Le
 “ Brun, minister for foreign affairs in France,
 “ in my presence ; to have received the
 “ letter so delivered to lord Grenville (as
 “ also copies of the same) from the said
 “ minister ; and to have delivered the same
 “ into the hands of Mr. Salter : and I do here-
 “ by authorise and desire the publication
 “ thereof.

“ JAMES MATTHEWS.”

Biggen House, Surrey,

May 21, 1793.

APPENDIX E.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH,

November 18, 1795.

Sittings in Term before Lord Kenyon.

*Forged Assignats for the Duke of York's
Army, and other Expeditions to the Con-
tinent.*

Strongitharm v. Lukyn.

FROM the state of the pleadings, the
affirmative in this case being on the
defendant,

defendant, Mr. Erskine, who was leading Counsel for Mr. Lukyn, opened the case:—

This he said was an action brought by the plaintiff, who was the holder of a bill of exchange for 50l. against the defendant as drawer. Nothing was clearer than that the law would take care that no man should come into a court of justice to enforce a corrupt and illegal contract.

The case he had to lay before his lordship and the gentlemen of the jury was this: Mr. Lukyn applied to the plaintiff (no matter by whom desired) to do that, which when it was done, in the opinion of the learned counsel, was one of the wickedest things that could be done, and certainly extremely disgraceful to a nation that practised it; as it was effecting the ruin of thousands of innocent persons. Al-

though the plaintiff might not be subject to any indictment, for forging plates for French assignats; yet he apprehended his lordship would be of opinion, if it turned out that the consideration of the bill in question was, plates for printing off forged assignats, that the plaintiff could not recover; if his lordship entertained any doubt upon the point, he would reserve the consideration of it till another opportunity. Independently of the principle of the action, it might be extremely dangerous to encourage such applications, in as much as they might lead to other forgeries of that sort that might prove fatal to ourselves. A man possessing the dexterity of the art, might be tempted to destroy the public credit of our own country, by forging our own bank notes: very few persons, it was confessed, had arrived at such a degree of dexterity: only one person had appeared dextrous enough in the art of engraving, to be able to accomplish it. The
 foundation

foundation of this action was forgery, fraud, and falshood.

Mr. Caflon, letter-founder, was here called on the part of the defendant.

Mr. Mingay, the leading counsel for the plaintiff, objected to his being examined. He contended Mr. Caflon was not a competent witness, in as much as he was an indorser of this bill, and therefore came to invalidate his own security.

Mr. Erskine submitted to the court, that Mr. Caflon came to speak against his interest, for if the plaintiff obtained a verdict in consequence of Mr. Caflon's evidence, he would be obliged to pay one half of the bill, because he and the defendant were partners in this business. On the other hand, if the plaintiff was defeated in this action, he might commence another

s 3

against

against Mr. Cañlon, as indorser of the bill in question.

Mr. Cañlon was here examined, who said, that the consideration of the bill in question, was plates made by the plaintiff, in consequence of directions from him (the witness), and which directions he had received from Lukyn. He said he was employed as the middle person between the plaintiff and the defendant: Lukyn gave him a copy of a French assignat, which was produced in court, and that assignat, he said, he delivered to the plaintiff, to direct him in making his plates. The plaintiff at first refused to do it; but Lukyn said they were for the expedition, and for the duke of York's army, and THAT IT WAS WITH THE KNOWLEDGE AND APPROBATION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE; that the plaintiff was perfectly safe in doing it, and that

if

if he still entertained doubts, he MIGHT CALL ON THE SECRETARIES OF STATE ; this he said WAS CONFIRMED BY COLONEL SMITH, AGENT TO THE DUKE OF YORK'S ARMY!!! The witness believed the plates were very well done. Lukyn had immense numbers of these forged assignats printed off, and went abroad with them. On cross-examination he said, the plaintiff certainly refused to make these plates, till he was told the government of this country thought it was a good measure.

Lord Kenyon said, if the plaintiff had forged these plates for the purpose of fraud, he was opinion that it ought not to have been made the foundation of an action. But Mr. Cañon swore the contrary. If the plaintiff, in obedience to the higher powers, had made these plates for

s 4

the

the duke of York's army, *that circumstance altered the case.* There were certain laws, not to be transgressed by one nation, even at war with another, as abstaining from poisoned arms, quarters in war, &c. But his Lordship said *he did not know that this was contrary to the laws of nations.*

The Jury found a verdict for the plaintiff.

I must here relate an anecdote, the authenticity of which my reader may rely on :—

During the revolutionary career of Robespierre, an Englishman, then in Paris, presented a plan to the committee of Public Safety, for the forging of English bank notes.—He was desired to attend the above committee; when after an examination

mination of six hours, instead of rewarding him, as he expected, *he was committed to the Conciergerie, where he remained upwards of two years!*

APPENDIX F.

*General Bonaparte to the Archduke
Charles.*

II *Germinal, 5th Year of
the Republic—(March
31, 1797).*

M. General in Chief,

BRAVE foldiers make war and desire peace.
Has not the war lasted for fix years?
Have we not killed men and committed
evils enough against suffering humanity?
Such are the exclamations used on all
sides.

sides. Europe, who had taken up arms against the French Republic, has laid them down : your nation alone remains ; and yet blood is about to flow more than ever. The sixth campaign is announced under the most portentous auspices. Whatever may be the result, many thousands of gallant soldiers must still fall a sacrifice in the prosecution of hostilities. At some period we must come to an understanding ; since time will bring all things to a conclusion, and extinguish the most inveterate resentments.

The Executive Directory of the French Republic, communicated to his Imperial Majesty their inclination to terminate a conflict which desolates the two countries ; their pacific overtures *were defeated by the intervention of the British Cabinet.* Is there no hope then of accommodation ? Is it essential to the interests, or gratifying to the passions of a nation far removed from the theatre

of

of war, that ~~we~~ should continue to murder each other? Are not you, who are so nearly allied to the throne, and who are above all the despicable passions, which generally influence ministers and governments, ambitious to merit the appellations of "the benefactor of the human race," and "the Saviour of the German Empire?" Do not imagine, my dear general, that I wish to insinuate that you cannot possibly save your country by force of arms; but on the supposition that the chances of war were even to become favorable, Germany will not suffer less on that account. With respect to myself, gallant general, if the overture which I have now the honour to make to you, could be the means of sparing the life of a single man, I should think myself prouder of the civic crown, to which my interference would entitle me, than of the melancholy

melancholy glory which would result from
the most brilliant military exploits.

I beg of you to believe me to be,

General in Chief,

with sentiments of the most profound

respect and esteem, &c. &c.

BONAPARTE.

APPENDIX G.

*Report of the Ministers Plenipotentiaries
at Rastadt, on the events of the 28th
and 29th of April, 1799.*

THE Imperial Plenipotentiaries being recalled from Rastadt, and having quitted that town on the 13th of last month, the deputation of the Empire declared in its sitting of the 23d, that its functions were suspended, and notified to the French Legation the motives of that declaration. On the 25th the ministers of France also declared that they would depart within three days.

In the evening of the same day, the courier of the French Legation, furnished with a passport, and his badge, and charged with dispatches for Strasburg, was arrested on the road to Seltz, between the villages of Pittesdorf and Raftadt, by some Austrian hussars, and conducted to the headquarters of the Imperial Colonel Barbaczy at Gernsbach, after having had his papers taken from him.

On the requisition of the French Legation, the directorial envoy of Mentz, in the name of all the members of the deputation, interposed his good offices in the same manner as the Prussian Legation, in order “ that according to the universal
 “ principles of the rights of nations, the
 “ courier who had been arrested should be
 “ set at liberty, along with his dispatches,
 “ and that the security of the correspon-
 “ dence of the French mission should not
 “ be

“be interrupted during the short delay of
 “three days fixed for their departure.”

The letter of the minister of Mentz was sent on the same night to Gernsbach, by a courier who returned with a short reply from Colonel Barbaczy, stating, that “he had
 “rendered an account to his superiors of
 “the arrestation of the French courier,
 “and that he could not yield to the views
 “of the French deputation until he re-
 “ceived farther orders.”

The letter of the Prussian Legation was sent on the 25th, at five in the morning, by the count Bernstorff, counsellor of the Legation, with an injunction to support the contents of it verbally. The French Legation having also addressed themselves to baron d'Edelsheim, minister of state to the margrave of Baden*, to claim the protec-

* Rastadt is part of the territory of the margrave of Baden.

tion of the margrave, that minister judged it proper to accompany count Bernstorff, and to make every representation suitable to the circumstances of the case to colonel Barbatzy. The verbal answer of the colonel was, that " he would transmit these representations to his superiors along with the letter of the Prussian Legation, and that he would communicate the result as soon as possible ; but that until then he could not any farther explain himself." The account of the mission, written by the count de Bernstorff, proves that this refusal to explain himself was positive.

Meanwhile the French ministers resolved to depart for Seltz, on the third day, the 28th, at eight in the morning. Every preparation was made, and the carriages, loaded with their baggage, were already in the court of the castle. But looking at circumstances, considering that patrols of hussars were constantly pass-

ing on the road from Raftadt to Seltz, that they had already arrested several German ministers, and among others the minister of Wurtzburg, from whom they had taken and detained his papers; considering besides, that the declarations of colonel Barbatzy, both on this affair, and on the arrest of the French courier, were no way encouraging for the journey of the French Legation, it was impossible to be without some uneasiness on that subject, for it appeared at least possible that the ministers might be arrested out of contempt; a transaction from which great inconvenience might result. For these reasons, all the diplomatic persons, who still communicated with the French ministers, advised them to defer their journey some hours, or to the next day; the reply of colonel Barbatzy to the representations of the ministers of Prussia, Mentz, and Baden, being expected every moment.

The French ministers yielded to this advice, particularly on the observation that it was proper to wait the result of the steps taken by the other ministers, for whom the Prussian Legation testified much gratitude. As, at eleven in the morning, no answer had arrived, the minister of Mentz, baron d'Albini, wrote again to colonel Barbatzy, and required from him a categorical reply to this question, "Whether the French ministers, who were ready to depart, and who were furnished with passports from baron d'Albini, were likely to meet with any interruption?" It was hoped that the officer of the margrave of Baden, who was dispatched with this letter, would return about three or four o'clock in the afternoon with a reply, but these expectations were disappointed.

In the evening, between seven and eight o'clock, an officer of hussars arrived with some
T 2
soldiers.

soldiers. The officer proceeded immediately to the ministers of France and Mentz in the castle, and according to the testimony of the undersigned ministers, the counts de Goertz, de Dohm, and de Solms, who were present, he begged then to excuse colonel Barbatzy, who was too busy to reply in writing, but he declared in his name that the French ministers might travel in perfect safety, and that for that effect the term of twenty-four hours was fixed for them. As to the Prussian Legation, they received no information from colonel Barbatzy, either written or verbal.

The Imperial officer delivered a letter to the French ministers; M. de Dohm is the only other minister who saw it, and that was by accident ! He guarantees its contents to be as follows :—

“ Ministers,

“ You will easily conceive that no French
 “ citizen can be tolerated within the chain
 “ of

“ of posts occupied by the Imperial troops ;
 “ you will therefore excuse me, if I find my-
 “ self obliged to signify to you, that you
 “ must quit Rastadt in the space of twenty-
 “ four hours.

(Signed)

“ BARBATZY.”

Gernsbach, April 28.

The French ministers resolved to depart immediately, and would not be dissuaded by the observation, that they could not arrive at the Rhine before night, and that the passage of that river might then be dangerous. They set out on the 28th, within half an hour after they received the above letter, in four carriages, chiefly drawn by horses belonging to the margrave. With the officer who brought the letter, there arrived fifty

of the hussars of Szeklers, who were posted at the gates of Etlingen, and had caused the other gates to be occupied in the same manner. It was soon known that an order was given to allow no person belonging to the congress to enter or to leave the town, and that the captain of the hussars had signified to major Harrant, commander of the troops of Baden, that he required that his soldiers should remain at the gates, to point out to the Austrians the persons belonging to the congress, whose passage in or out of the town was prohibited. Notwithstanding this restriction of the prohibition to the members of the congress, no person whatever was permitted to pass even the bridge of communication between the town and suburbs. The commandant of the town himself could not obtain leave to go without the gates, though he demanded it very pressingly, when he was informed of subsequent events. The Da-

nish

nish minister had fixed his departure for the same day, and only waited the result of the steps taken by the deputation relative to the French ministers. After having learnt the reply of colonel Barbatzy, he went home to make preparations for his journey, but on being informed, as he passed near the gate, that no person was permitted to go out of the town, he crossed the garden of the castle towards the causeway, where the captain of hussars was posted with his troop, and asked if he might depart that evening.

The officer replied, that he was ordered to allow no person to pass; but when he was informed that the French ministers were summoned to depart, and that they were at that moment leaving the town by the gate of Rheineau, the captain replied, that he had no orders to prevent the departure of the French Legation. The minister of his Danish majesty afterwards asked if he would give them

them an escort. He said he had no orders to do that; and when it was strongly represented to him how much the honour of the great nation required that every means should be taken to prevent any disorder from happening on the departure of the ministers, the captain replied, that he had nothing to do but to provide for his own security; adding also this remark, that the Imperial plenipotentiaries had gone away a sufficient time ago to have allowed all the other German envoys to have departed also.

When the members of the French Legation presented themselves at the gate of the town, they were informed that they could not be allowed to pass. The three ministers immediately alighted, and, leaving their carriages with their families and suite, proceeded to the minister of Mentz in the castle. No one could reconcile this contradiction; the order to leave the town within twenty-four hours, and the
obstacle

obstacle opposed to the departure of the ministers at the gates of the town. The envoy of his Danish majesty, who had, after this new incident, repaired with several others to the minister of Mentz, gave an explanation founded on his conversation with the captain of hussars, and this explanation was soon after officially confirmed by M. de Munich, secretary of legation, who had been sent to that officer by M. d'Albini. He stated, that when the Imperial officer took possession of the gates of the town, and ordered that no person should be permitted to pass, he had forgot to except the French ministers from that order. But M. de Munich added, that this neglect was now repaired, and that the ministers might now depart without interruption. The French Legation thought that it would be necessary to demand a military escort, in order that they might not be stopped by the patroles which they would probably meet on their road, as far as Pittesdorf. The secretary of the legation of Mentz charged him-

self

self with requesting this escort from the captain, and the French envoys proceeded in a carriage to the margrave's to join the others at the gate. They were obliged to wait there a long time for the answer, which was at length brought by M. de Harrant, a major in the service of the margrave of Baden, and stated, "that the captain could not give an escort, because he had no orders to that effect; but that the French ministers would find no interruption in their route." On major Harrant's asking if it was to be understood by this answer that the French ministers might pass to the other side of the Rhine in safety, and if he might give them that assurance, the captain answered "Yes." After some deliberation, the French envoys then preferred departing immediately without an escort to returning to the castle and waiting there until next morning; a step to which several persons advised them, and which the women were anxious they should take.

take. At last, between nine and ten o'clock, the French ministers left the town. The night was very dark, and torches were carried before the carriages.

A quarter of an hour had scarcely elapsed when the news arrived from different quarters that the French Legation had been arrested by the violence of some Austrian hussars, who had struck the coachmen and the bearers of the flambeaux with their sabres. The greater part of the members of the diplomatic corps were at this time assembled in Cassino. The Ligurian envoy, Boceardi, and his brother, who had escaped, brought the first intelligence of the affair. It was instantly determined that the different ministers should repair to the captain to demand an explanation, and, above all, the most speedy succours. In a few minutes after the report arrived that *one*, that *two*, that all the *three* French ministers were assassinated by the emperor's soldiers. To reason, such a crime

crime appeared improbable, the heart could not believe it possible. It was the universal thought that it was false. The desire, however, of terminating, as soon as possible, an unfortunate misunderstanding, caused the deputies to hasten towards the commanding officer, whose quarters were about twenty paces distant from the gate of Etlingen, at the inn called *The Lantern*. The guard at the gate would not allow them to pass, although they declared themselves to be the envoys of the regal and princely courts. It was not without the greatest trouble that an inferior officer was prevailed upon to announce their arrival. They were again asked what envoys they were? and it was declared to them, with a troublesome exactness, that only *three, four, or six* ministers could be permitted to go to the captain. At last that officer appeared. Count de Goertz, the undersigned envoy of his Prussian majesty, in the name of all the other deputies, made a short
statement

statement to the captain, requesting to know what measures he had taken in consequence of the melancholy intelligence which had doubtless reached him. He replied, that in consequence of the application of the minister of Mentz, who had already called upon him, he had dispatched an officer and two hussars. We thought that this was sufficient, and we entreated him in the name of all the sentiments of humanity—in the name of the welfare of Europe, and of the German nation, about to be stained by a crime unparalleled in the annals of civilised countries—in the name of his august sovereign—in the name of the honour of his Imperial majesty's service—in the name of his own individual honour and of his life, to take as quickly as possible every measure in his power to save whoever could be saved. The captain replied, that the affair was an unfortunate mistake; that doubtless the patrols roamed about the environs during the night, that such a misfortune

fortune might easily happen, and that the French ministers should not have departed at night. He was reminded, that he had refused an escort, and that he had said to major Harrant that there was nothing to fear for the French Legation. He replied, that he had no order to give an escort, and that it should have been asked of the commandant. Count Bernstorff, counsellor of the Prussian Legation, said that he himself asked the colonel when he was sent to him for an escort. "Did he grant it you?" was the captain's reply. The undersigned envoy of Denmark having reminded him of the conversation which he had with him as stated above, "Would you," said he, "establish an inquiry upon me?" Finally, passing from all considerations which we ought to have felt after the treatment we were obliged to endure, we pressed, prayed, supplicated him not to lose a moment in endeavouring yet to save the lives of some men, and to rescue the honour

honour of his service. He asked us where the carriages of the ministers were, and required other explanations from us whom his orders retained prisoners in town—from us who came to him to obtain information, and to learn what measures he had taken to prevent, if possible, a crime which so nearly concerned his own honour, and that of his sovereign. At last we procured from him the promise of detaching an officer and six hussars to accompany major Harrant, and two hussars of Baden, on the great road to Pittsfeldorf. Mean while there arrived several fugitives from the field of carnage, who confirmed the report that the French ministers had been assassinated by the hussars Szeklers. The murder of Bonnier was reported by an eye-witness, viz. the flambeau-bearer. Major Harrant, of Baden, with whom there was dispatched only a *maréchal-des-logis*, instead of an officer, as had been promised, found the carriages on the spot where

where the scene of horror had passed. They were surrounded by about fifty hussars of Szeklers holding flambeaus (among whom, however, he could not distinguish any officers), and employed in conducting around the town the carriages and the unfortunate persons within them, who were still in a state of profound stupor. When M. de Harrant declared to the hussars that the carriages must be brought into the town, the hussars would not at first listen to him, maintaining that they were their booty. It was not without the strongest menaces, and after M. de Harrant had declared to them, in his quality as commandant, the disposition of the carriages belonged exclusively to him, that he succeeded in making them desist from their project. M. de Harrant found the dead bodies of Roberjot and Bonnier on the ground horribly mangled. Not finding the body of Jean Debry, he took every imaginable pains to search for it. He even proposed to search for it in the forest,

and

and for that purpose demanded an escort of some Austrian hussars, who had joined him ; but this escort was refused him, under the pretext that other Austrian patrols might easily be met with, and that in the obscurity of the night, they might run the risk of being attacked. M. de Harrant was therefore obliged to delay the execution of his design until day-light, but in the mean time he brought the carriages into the city. The wives of Jean Debry, and of Roberjot, the daughters of the former, and the domestics, came with him : none of them were wounded, though several of them had been robbed of their money, their watches, &c. The three ministers only were attacked by the murderers. The carriages stopped before the castle ; every one hastened to approach the unfortunate persons who were in them, in order to give their assistance ; but all were kept back without distinction, even the most considerable of the foreign ministers ; be-

cause no officer being present, it was found necessary to wait for orders.

At last permission was obtained to carry to the apartments of M. de Jacobi, minister of the king of Prussia, madame Roberjot, who was extended half dead in the carriage, which stopped before the door of that minister. Madame Debry and her two daughters were obliged to descend from their carriage into the street, on the pretext that carriages were never permitted to enter the court of the castle. They were conducted to the gate of Etlingen. The horses of the court were demanded to conduct them the next day to Gernsbach; this was countermanded however the same day. The women were conducted a-foot to their former lodgings in the castle, by several members of the diplomatic corps; but they were soon after removed to the house of the undersigned minister of Brandenburg, in order that they
might

might be more within the reach of succour. The details of the assassination of Roberjot were learnt from his valet-de-chambre, who was in the same carriage : he deposed that

“ some hussars presented themselves at the
 “ door of the coach, broke the glasses, and
 “ asked the minister if he was Roberjot ; up-
 “ on which the minister answered Yes in
 “ French, producing at the same time the
 “ passport of the directorial envoy of Mentz ;
 “ that the hussars tore this passport ; that
 “ they forced the minister out of his carri-
 “ age, and struck him several very violent
 “ blows ; that Roberjot still giving some
 “ signs of life, and his wife having cried,
 “ Save him ! Save him ! the hussars redoubled
 “ their blows ; that madame Roberjot then
 “ threw herself on the body of her husband ;
 “ but that he (the valet-de-chambre) seized
 “ her fast in his arms, and covered her ears,
 “ to prevent her from hearing the groans of
 “ her dying husband ; that he (the valet-de-
 “ chambre)

“chambre) had been dragged out of the
 “carriage by a huffar, who asked him if he
 “was a servant; and having answered in the
 “affirmative, the huffar gave him to un-
 “derstand by signs, that he had nothing to
 “fear for himself; that, notwithstanding, his
 “watch and his purse were taken from him,
 “and that madame Roberjot experienced
 “the same usage.” It was remarked, how-
 ever, by several of us, that the carriage was
 not entirely pillaged, but that money and
 valuable effects were left in it. When ma-
 dame Roberjot came out of her carriage, she
 fell repeatedly into fits, calling out frequent-
 ly, “they have torn him away from me be-
 “fore my eyes!”

The secretary of legation Rosentiel, who
 was in the last of the carriages, and conse-
 quently nearest the town, escaped through
 the gardens about the commencement of the
 affair. He was found at the house of the
 minister

minister of Baden in a state of delirium. All the other persons attached to the French legation arrived in succession either as fugitives on foot or with the carriages. The minister Jean Debry was still missing: no proof of his death was established by eye-witness. It was then considered to be absolutely essential, that every thing should be attempted to save him. Some of us applied to the captain of the Austrian hussars, and solicited him to grant an escort to major de Harrant, who, accompanied by some hussars of Baden, wished to go in search of Jean Debry. The undersigned count de Solms de Laubach offered to accompany him, in order to call the French minister by his name, as his voice was known to Jean Debry. The captain granted the escort, and at day-break, about four in the morning, count Solms, major Harrant, and two hussars of Baden, under the escort of a corporal and four Imperial hussars, mounted on horseback to search the environs, and par-

ticularly the forests of Sleinmaner and Pittesdorf. They had not the satisfaction of finding the minister Jean Debry; but they learnt some circumstances connected with the transaction. Major Harrant having addressed himself to the baillie of Rheinau to obtain information of the absent minister, the baillie informed him that some Imperial hussars had already made very strict enquiries relative to a wounded Frenchman, whose discovery they said was of great importance to them; and they had recommended strongly in case a Frenchman should be found, resembling the person they described, to take care not to conduct him to Rastadt, but to make him pass without the town, and bring him to them at Muckenstrum, by a road which they pointed out, and simply to take care of him, and give them notice of his being found.

Every thing had hitherto been done to
ameliorate

ameliorate as much as possible this horrible state of things. The present business was to provide for the safety of the members of the diplomatic body and their families. The undersigned therefore addressed themselves to colonel Barbatzy, by a letter (No. 5.), with which M. Jordan, secretary of the Prussian legation was charged, and who set out at four in the morning of the 29th, accompanied by an Imperial ordonnance. At seven in the morning Jean Debry came to the house of the Prussian minister M. de Goertz. His appearance caused as much pleasure to those who were present as the state in which he was inspired them with interest.—They were the witnesses of the first transports of his joy, and of his gratitude towards Providence, when he learnt that his wife and children were still in life. His clothes were torn, he was wounded in the left arm, the shoulder, and the nose; his wig and hat had saved him from the cut of a sabre, in such a

manner that he only received a contusion from [the blow. Every necessary succour was immediately administered to him, and we heard the affecting relation of the miraculous manner in which he had escaped :—

“ A hussar asked him in French, if he was
 “ Jean Debry ? to which he answered in the
 “ affirmative, and produced his passport,
 “ which was instantly torn : he, his wife,
 “ and his daughters, were then dragged out
 “ of the carriage ; the hussars struck him,
 “ and threw him into a ditch by the side of
 “ the highway : he had the presence of mind
 “ to counterfeit death, and to allow himself
 “ to be stripped : this saved him. When the
 “ hussars went off, he rose and ran into the
 “ forest ; not wishing to lay himself down
 “ on the ground, which was wet with rain,
 “ he climbed a tree, where he slumbered
 “ from time to time, in consequence of lassitude and fatigue : he remained there until morning, when he proceeded towards

“ Rastadt.

“ Raftadt. On approaching the town, he
 “ mingled with the multitude who had come
 “ out to see the dead bodies, and without
 “ being observed by the Austrian patrols, or
 “ the guards posted at the gate, he arrived
 “ safely in the town. The most distressing
 “ spectacle for him was the dead bodies of
 “ his two colleagues, by which he was ob-
 “ liged to pass.”

The answer of the colonel had not yet
 arrived, but in the mean time we were ex-
 tremely desirous that those of the French le-
 gation who were saved, should have an op-
 portunity of passing the Rhine. M. M. de
 Rosenkranz and Gemmingen, therefore, wait-
 ed on the captain about nine o'clock, and
 stated to him that as soon as the situation of
 Jean Debry and the widow of Roberjot would
 permit them to be removed, they should pro-
 ceed to the Rhine with their effects, under
 the escort of the military of Baden, if the
 captain

captain would answer for their safety on his honour, and give them the escort of an officer and a few hussars. After having started some difficulties, the captain granted this request, but required that it should be presented to him in writing, which was done. During this conversation several expressions dropped from the captain, which deserve notice—"it was a misfortune, but who was to blame?"—"it was not ordered!"—M. M. Rosenkranz and Gemmingen expressed to him the horror which they thought the mere mention of such a supposition ought to excite in the mind of every man of honour. He then endeavoured to extenuate the crime, by saying—"Our generals have been killed also." The sensations which such discourse could not fail of exciting in us, since it was held by a man to whom our safety was confided, was only capable of being calmed by the answer of colonel Barbatzy, which M. de Jordan at last brought about eleven o'clock.

He

He had not seen the colonel himself; he sent notice to him, that he came not only in the name of the Prussian Legation, but of all the deputation of the empire, assembled at Rastadt; the reply he received was, “ that
 “ the colonel could not speak to him, even
 “ though he came in the name of God the
 “ Father and God the Son.” M. Jordan had indeed much trouble in engaging the captain, whom he met at Rotensels, to transmit his letter, because he said, “ the colonel
 “ has already received couriers and estafettes
 “ enough during the night.” The reason why M. Jordan was detained so long was a false report circulated at Gernsbach, that the French had made an attack on the side of Rastadt. The letter of the colonel, however, announced a man of honour and humanity; he promised an escort for the French Legation; as for us, he declared it was useless and inconvenient, that we should accompany them. Every measure was immediately
 adopted

adopted for a speedy departure; the physician and the surgeon were of opinion that the journey would be less dangerous for Jean Debry, than the continuation of the alarming crisis in which he was placed. He and madame Roberjot were equally desirous of setting out; our sentiments coincided with theirs: the captain had received orders to accompany them, but he declared he was expressly prohibited from allowing us to accompany them, and that the German Legations might retire to their own states, but not towards the Rhine. However disgusting this treatment was, our representations might have created farther delays, and we were therefore silent. Baron de Gemmingen began to stipulate for the conditions of the journey. The escort was to consist of major de Harrant with six hussars of Baden, and an Imperial officer with eight hussars of Szekler. M. de Jordan, the Prussian secretary, who had become acquainted with these troops, in
consequence

consequence of his mission to Gernsbach, was the only person who obtained permission to accompany the carriages, and his company afforded much satisfaction to the persons attached to the French Legation. They commenced their departure for the third time at one o'clock. Was it surprising to see these unfortunate victims covered with the paleness of death, on exposing themselves anew to the greatest dangers, or to find that it was impossible for us to convince them that they had nothing to fear? They seemed to place confidence in our assurances; but among themselves, and to those who were near them, they whispered—"We are going to death—we shall be assassinated!" Jean Debry took leave of his wife, who was big with child, and his daughters, in the most affecting manner. M. Rosentiel recommended his family, who have long been at Strasburg, to his brother-in-law M. Wieland, counsellor of the legation of Weimar. Our reason blamed theirs,

theirs, but could it be expected that they should have already forgotten what had happened? They were shocked to see among their escort the uniform of their murderers: God be praised their terrible apprehensions were vain, the journey was made without any disagreeable accident.

The escort of Imperial hussars increased on the road to about the number of thirty men, and it was not yet known whether the French or Austrians occupied Pittesdorf; the latter were however found at that place: after having travelled five hours, the ferry-boat was hailed with a trumpet, and every person belonging to the French Legation was soon embarked. It is impossible to describe the expressions which appeared on all their countenances. It was the transition from the fear of a terrible death to the hope of being saved. No words can express the gratitude they testified towards major de Harrant,

and

and M. de Jordan. Jean Debry also thanked the Imperial officer of the escort in a few words, which M. de Harrant translated for him. He assured him that though it was impossible for him to forget the past, he should always remember the escort he had at last obtained, and that if ever the fortune of war should occasion any of his regiment to fall into the hands of the French, that he should do his utmost to make this last action be remembered, and to repress every sentiment of vengeance. He made a present to the escort, and on leaving Raftadt his wife gave one hundred louis to baron d'Edlesheim for the poor of the town. In half an hour they reached the French side of the Rhine. The horrible crime was not yet known there, and according to the report of the coachmen of the margrave, who are returned, Jean Debry himself endeavoured to

to prevent it from being immediately known. M. M. Harrant and Jordan returned to Rastadt, which the German Legations had left at five o'clock. Not having heard any accounts of the travellers, they had every reason to believe they had accomplished their journey in safety.

The undersigned attest upon their honour and their duty, that all the facts above stated are most correctly true. We have been eye-witnesses of the greater part of these events, and we have verified the others with the most scrupulous attention upon the evidence of persons who were present, and concerned in the transactions. We have had only in view the proving facts in *all their purity*, and of placing them beyond the reach of any future misrepresentation. We have avoided, as much as possible, giving any opinion of our own,
making

making any observation, or yielding to the impulse of sensibility.

Carlsruhe, May 1, 1799.

The Count de Goertz.

The Baron de Jacobi, de Dohm,
de Rosenkranz, de Rechberg,
de Reeden.

The Baron Gatzert.

The Count de Solms-Laubach.

The Baron Otto de Gemmingen.

The Baron de Kreusn.

The Count de Taube.

APPENDIX H.

Naples, July 14, 1799.

IN consequence of the exertions of Cardinal General Ruffo, with 30,000 Calabrians, assisted by 500 Russian marines from Corfu, Ferdinand IV. has been put in possession of his abdicated dominions, almost without the loss of a man! Immediately after the departure of General Macdonald's army from this state, the cardinal advanced to Salerno, 24 miles from the capital; and having only the French garrison in the castle of St. Elmo (about 1000 men) to oppose his progress, together with a few Neapolitan patriots, who occupied the posts of Castel Nuovo and Castel Uovo, he entered the city about the 20th ult.

ult. An action had taken place at the Ponte Maddalena, in which the Russians distinguished themselves by their bravery, and the Calabrians for their cowardice; it required the greatest exertions of the officers of the former to prevent their firing on their allies, who began to fly at the moment of the attack: from the astonishing valour of this handful of Russians the Jacobins were speedily routed, and 300 put to the sword. Those who escaped retreated into the castle.

Soon after this affair the cardinal seized upon 6 or 700 of these unhappy wretches in different parts of the town, and shut them up in the public granary. The Calabrians being anxious to make an *auto de fe*, could hardly be restrained from setting fire to the prison! the most horrible excesses and murders were committed by these savages in every quarter of the city; and those who escaped roasting and impaling formed, a pro-

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cession about the streets stripped and flayed alive.

About this period the British fleet in Palermo bay failed to co-operate with the royalists, having on board the gallant hereditary prince, and a few Sicilian regiments. On their passage a dispatch overtook them from lord Keith, with the news of the French squadron having again put to sea; our fleet was therefore obliged to return to Palermo, to disembark the troops. In consequence of this disappointment, the patriots here began to pluck up a little courage; and Ruffo having learned that he had no aid to expect from the English, determined to offer terms to the patriots in the castles. A treaty was accordingly drawn up, in which it was stipulated that they should surrender their posts upon condition that a general and complete amnesty should be granted; that they should march out with the honours of war; that all their effects, moveable

moveable and immoveable, should be guaranteed; and that they should have an unlimited time to dispose of their property, if they chose to retire to France. In short, that they should be put on the *status quo* of subjects, as if nothing had happened. These terms were no doubt very disgraceful on the part of the king; but Ruffo, without resources or regular troops, and the French fleet at sea, thought it prudent to get possession of the strong holds of the city, at any price, especially as the king had instructed him so to do. The treaty was signed by Ruffo, and guaranteed by Capt. Foote, of the Seahorse, on the part of the English.

In pursuance of these stipulations, the patriots, to the amount of 5 or 600, desired to be embarked for Toulon, under convoy of an English man-of-war, and transports were provided for their conveyance, when lord

Nelson

Nelson having learnt that lord Keith had been reinforced, arrived in the bay of Naples. His lordship immediately ANNULLED the FLAG OF TRUCE, and REFUSED TO RATIFY, till the king's pleasure could be known, the conditions which had been stipulated by Ruffo, and sanctioned by captain Foote. On the following day, however, to prevent the confusion which must have arisen had the treaty on the faith of which the patriots surrendered been totally set aside, he gave orders to his officers to superintend the embarkation of the jacobins, who were thunderstruck at the news that the stipulations in their favour were to be annulled. In the mean time, however, they had been disarmed, and EIGHTEEN OF THE MOST OBNOXIOUS OF THE PARTY WERE DETAINED, SENT ON BOARD THE ENGLISH FLEET, AND CONFINED IN IRONS. His lordship, no doubt, must have some strong reasons for this proceeding, which, however criminal

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the individuals might have been, *was contrary to an express agreement on the faith of which they had acted.*

Nothing now was wanting to the re-establishment of the king on his throne, and the tranquillity of the city, but the expulsion of the French from St. Elmo. By its situation it cannot be taken by storm; batteries were therefore erected by the English and Russians, and a severe and constant fire kept up for ten days. The parapets were knocked down, and a great many guns dismounted, while the fire of the enemy produced little or no effect on the besiegers. Six 32-pounders, under the direction of the gallant captain Hallowel, were opened a few days ago within 150 yards of the castle, which had such a tremendous effect, that after two hours' battering a flag of truce was hoisted, and the garrison surrendered.

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The garrison marched out on the 12th, and the place was garrisoned by our marines, all of whom had been landed from the fleet to assist at the siege. The only loss sustained on our part is lieut. Milbanke, of the royal artillery, who was shot reconnoitring, one marine killed and two wounded. Twenty-two Swifs were killed by a discharge of grape-shot.

The king came over a few days ago in one of his frigates, convoyed by the Seahorse, but has not yet thought proper to come ashore. He lives on board the Foudroyant, and returns to Palermo to-morrow, in order to assist at the famous feast of St. Rosolia, which he had ordered to be put off until his arrival.

No public execution of the Jacobins has as yet taken place, except that of the once highly favoured and brave Caraccoli, who
had

had served his king for thirty years. The fate of this unfortunate man has excited compassion. On the entry of the French into Naples, he carried the vessel he commanded to Messina. He then obtained leave to return to Naples to endeavour to save his property, all of which he had left behind him. On his arrival at Naples he was obliged, as is supposed, to give his assistance to the French, and had the command of the gun-boats; and in this department he was obliged to sign many violent proclamations against the English. He was tried by a court-martial, condemned, and three hours after his sentence was hanged at the yard-arm of the Neapolitan frigate, Minerva.

Though no public severities have yet been exercised, it is impossible to conceive the cruelties employed upon those who had been engaged in the revolution by the Calabrians,

who are equally distinguished by cruelty and cowardice. I myself have seen the decapitated bodies of Jacobins carried about the streets, and their heads mutilated and suspended on pikes. Nay, I actually beheld one monster with two human hands, the blood of which he was sucking. While the Calabrians alone had possession of the city, fires were made in the squares, and the bodies roasted publicly : this savage barbarity is even combined with their religious mysteries. I passed into a chapel yesterday in the suburbs, where was exhibited human extremities on an altar, and a large congregation singing *Te Deum!!!* Since the evacuation of the French, and the arrival of some regular troops, one can now venture to walk out with some confidence, though the Calabrians are particularly jealous of the English, on account of their having prevented them from plundering the castles, and massacring the prisoners. I
 imagine

imagine the government will find itself not a little embarrassed with those myrmidons before they can be prevailed upon to return home.

FINIS.

In the Press, and speedily will be published, by

J. S. JORDAN;

STATE

OF

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

AT THE END OF THE YEAR VIII;

Translated from the French of Citizen Hauterive, Chef
de Relations exterieurs, and others;

By LEWIS GOLDSMITH.

T. Davison, White-friars.



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